



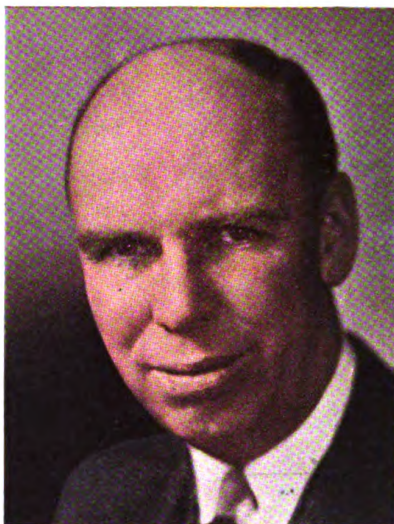
Senator Lodge



Senator Chandler



Senator Mead



Senator Brewster



Senator Russell
(CHAIRMAN)

PERIODICAL ROOM
GENERAL LIBRARY
UNIV. OF MICH.

FIVE SENATORS REPORT ON THE WAR



**Observations on a
45,000-mile trip
to the war areas**

by

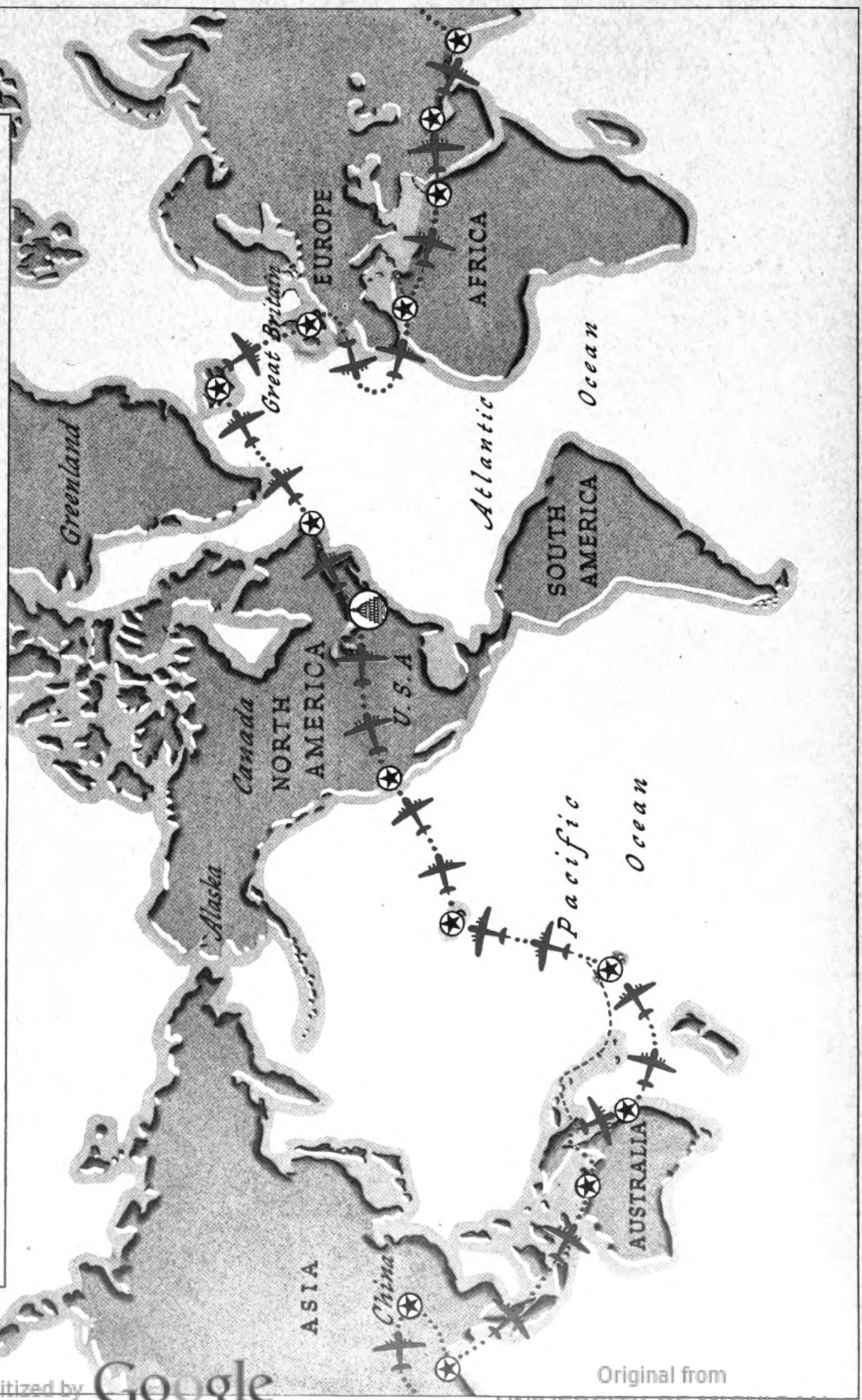
**Senator Brewster of Maine
Senator Chandler of Kentucky
Senator Lodge of Massachusetts
Senator Mead of New York
Senator Russell of Georgia**

Compliments of



Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Route Taken by Five Senators



REPORT ON THE WAR

*Observations by five members of
the United States Senate on a
45,000-mile trip to the war areas*

From the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs:

Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia (Democrat)

From the Senate Committee on Military Affairs:

Senator Albert B. Chandler of Kentucky (Democrat)

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts (Republican)

*From the Special Senate Committee to Investigate the
National Defense Program (Truman Committee):*

Senator James M. Mead of New York (Democrat)

Senator Ralph O. Brewster of Maine (Republican)

*(Senators Russell, Mead and Lodge also are
members of the Committee on Appropriations.)*

Statement by the Honorable Alben W. Barkley,
Majority Leader of the Senate, on the floor of the Senate, June 30, 1943:

Senators are familiar with the fact that there has been some discussion in the press and in the Senate, among Senators, regarding the suggestion that certain Senators from certain committees take a trip abroad for the purpose of carrying on a continuation of investigations of war-materials production and distribution and other matters pertaining to the war. The first I knew about the proposal was when I received a confidential letter from the President, dated March 23, transmitting a confidential memorandum to him by General Marshall, the Chief of Staff, regarding a suggestion which had been made by the Truman Committee as to the appointment of a subcommittee of that Committee to continue its investigation of the war activities outside the United States. Inasmuch as both communications were confidential, of course, I will not reveal them. Later, I discussed the matter with the President. . .

The only reason why I was called upon to take any action or render any decision in regard to the matter was because the Chief of Staff and, later the Secretary of War, suggested that, if such a trip were to be made, it should be made in coordination with the Senator from Oregon (Mr. McNary), as Minority Leader, and with me, as Majority Leader of the Senate.

I might say it was suggested that it was undesirable to have a series of committees of Congress traveling abroad at this time, in connection with the war; that is a single committee could be se-

lected, and if all members of the committee could go at the same time, occupying only one plane, the Army could provide facilities for the transportation of such a committee. . .

However, the upshot of it all is that, after these conferences have been held in an effort to compose the situation and do justice to the committees involved, the Senator from Oregon and I have agreed to sanction and recommend five members of the Senate to be at the disposal of the War Department for such facilities as the War Department has available, and at such time as the War Department has them available, and at such time and under such circumstances as will not interfere with the duties of our military commanders and our armed forces abroad, to make such a trip for the investigation of matters pertaining to the war.

Two of them are members of the Military Affairs Committee, designated by the chairman. Two of them are members of the Truman Committee, designated by the chairman. Three of them are members of the Appropriations Committee. Two of them are members of the Naval Committee, but not designated by the chairman. Of course, some of the Senators are members of more than one of the committees I have named. So both the committees representing the armed forces and the committee appropriating the money are represented in the selection of the five Senators.

Statement by Senator Harry S. Truman, *chairman of Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, read on the floor of the Senate, July 5, 1943:*

The Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program was charged by the Senate with the duty of checking on all phases of war production, for the purpose of making certain that we get to the fighting fronts as soon and as economically as possible the weapons, supplies and facilities needed by our armed forces.

The Congress has a clear duty, for which the people will hold it responsible, to see that results are obtained from the billions of dollars appropriated for the war effort. . .

Senator James M. Mead, of New York, and Senator Ralph O. Brewster, of Maine, are going abroad with a group of other Senators during the period when Congress expects to be in recess and most of its members are enjoying the first chance in several years to attend to their personal affairs. The Committee has directed Senators Mead and Brewster to obtain information—and, upon their return, to report to the Committee—on the foreign

aspects of the various questions which have been the subject of study by the Committee, including particularly:

1. Transportation and supply by sea, air, highway and rail;
2. Landing facilities in foreign areas developed by the United States and the rights of this country in those facilities now and in the postwar period;
3. Administrative activities in foreign fields outside military lines and particularly any confusion of function with respect thereto;
4. Arrangements for the distribution of American supplies among civilian populations;
5. Quality and condition of repair and replacement parts, including engines received from the United States, and quantity or percentage found unusable by reason of faulty manufacture;
6. The function of the Office of War Information.

Senator Russell:

Published reports of statements purporting to have been made in secret sessions of the Senate by individual members of the Senate Committee which recently visited the war theaters overseas have provoked much criticism and comment in recent weeks.

The summary of the findings of the Committee as a body, outlining opinions in regard to matters on which all of the Senators who participated in the trip were in complete agreement, was given to the press and printed in the *Congressional Record*. Very little has been said or published about those conclusions. Perhaps they were not spectacular enough.

The fragmentary handling by the press of the reporting by some Senator or Senators who saw fit to disregard the rules of the Senate applying secrecy to executive sessions caused a great deal of confusion and distortion in the accounts of what transpired appearing in the press and given over the radio. There is an undoubted natural tendency in most humans to emphasize critical statements and gloss over those that are commendatory.

The widespread publicity given the deliberations of a secret session reflects no credit on the Senate. It will probably be a long time before another executive session is held. It does seem that a member or members of this body who cannot resist the impulse to report secret proceedings to newsmen would at least make an attempt to present a more complete picture. It may well be that it was unwise to arrange an executive session in the first instance. I, personally, had no objection to making a general statement of my views and observations in public, but it was felt that an executive session would enable the members of the Committee to speak more freely on such matters as the numbers of troops and amount of equipment in each area, and other plans and details of the war which it would not be in the public interest to have available to our enemies.

I believed that, if the expedition was to prove of any value to the Senate and thereby to the country in dealing with war legislation or postwar problems, I should be perfectly frank in making my report. Nothing was further from my purpose than to engender any bitterness, either at home or between us and our allies, that would in the slightest degree adversely affect our united effort in the great struggle for life and freedom in which we are engaged, and I have no apologies to anyone for any statement that I made.

In view of the fragmentary and somewhat garbled reports which have been circulated and discussed, I have decided that, in order to clear the atmosphere and make plain my own views, to make in open session of the Senate the same report insofar as possible that I made in the executive session. I have omitted only facts which might be valuable to our enemies.

During the course of the sessions a number of questions were asked, and I, of course, cannot remember all of them or repeat my answers verbatim. I am, however, using the same notes and manuscript to which I referred in the executive session held October 7. I do not expect my colleagues to welcome the opportunity to hear the same statement twice, but, if any member of the Senate desires to repeat questions asked in the executive session,

I shall endeavor to answer such questions just as I did in the first place if my memory will permit.

Let me make it perfectly clear that I am not undertaking to speak for the Committee. This is not a Committee report in any sense of the word, but is a statement of my own individual views. As is natural in such a case, every individual who went on the trip returned with some ideas and opinions that differed from those held by his colleagues. All of us did not see and hear the same things, and there were instances where we placed different constructions upon what we did see and hear. Despite the fact that practically every statement made by any member of the Committee is consistently attributed to "the five Senators," there are a number of matters on which we disagree.

The Route Traveled

It may facilitate an understanding of the reports of the members of the Committee designated to visit the American war operations overseas to preface the discussion with a brief outline of the route traveled by the Committee in the course of its investigations.

Leaving Washington on July 25, we flew via Presque Isle, Maine, to an air base in Newfoundland; thence we proceeded to another airfield in Labrador. From this field in Labrador we flew across the awesome ice cap and peaks and glaciers of Greenland to Iceland. From Iceland we went to the United Kingdom, where we spent several days, much of the time being with our Eighth Air Force. From a gigantic airport in Southwest England we took off at midnight for Marrakech, in Morocco.

We spent more than a week in North Africa, and visited all of the important cities and troop concentrations on the Mediterranean, as well as the scene of the fighting there this spring. Leaving Cairo, we traveled across Arabia to Basra and Abadan on the Persian Gulf, where, in a climate so hot that the actual temperature recorded by thermometer defies belief, our men are assembling and delivering to the Russians vast quantities of war materiel under Lend-Lease.

From this theater we proceeded to Karachi, in India, and thence across India by New Delhi and Assam Province and over the Burma "Hump" into China, visiting Kunming and Chungking. Coming back out of China, we proceeded to Calcutta, and from Calcutta across the Bay of Bengal to Ceylon. From Ceylon we crossed the Indian Ocean to Carnarvon on the west coast of Australia. We were told that ours was the first land plane ever to make this flight across the Indian Ocean. We visited Port Darwin and Townsville, from which place we flew across the Coral Sea to General MacArthur's headquarters in New Guinea. Returning to Australia, we landed at Brisbane, from which city, after a visit to Sydney and Melbourne, we took off for New Caledonia. We came home across the Pacific, stopping at Fiji Islands, Samoa, Christmas Island and Hawaii on our way to Los Angeles.

This represents the route taken by the four-motored Liberator transport in which we left Washington. The party did not stay together throughout the entire trip,

but went to different places within each area visited in other planes. The large plane in which we left Washington flew nearly 37,000 miles, and members of the Committee traveled several thousand miles in other planes when visiting points where a four-motored plane could not land. About one-eighth of the total time of the trip was consumed in travel through the air. Most of the remaining seven-eighths was spent in an earnest effort to gather information.

Upon my appointment as chairman of the Committee, I announced that we were in no sense a committee on the conduct of the war, and that I did not consider it within our province to undertake to advise or interfere with Allied military and naval leaders in their direction of the strategy of the war. I did feel that the Committee could perform a very useful function for the Senate by securing firsthand information from the various theaters of operations as to the provisions being made for the health and well-being of our troops, as well as finding out what the men were thinking and talking about, the condition of their morale, the suitability of the tools of war being produced at such great effort and expense, and the general effectiveness with which the war is being prosecuted.

I also believed that the things heard and observed by such a Senate Committee would be helpful in dealing with the questions arising from our relations with the other allied powers, as well as in preparing for the many trying and complex issues whose solution must have final approval by the Senate after the war is over.

No one would claim that any person could become conversant with all phases of our far-flung activities in a trip of little more than two months' duration. All that one could hope to do was to get a fair idea of the general atmosphere prevailing in each of the theaters visited. This we endeavored to do by personal contact and observation.

We slept in palaces and in pup tents. We ate with those who are directing the destinies of nations, and with enlisted men at their mess. We conferred with high officials of every government visited, as well as with the commanding officers in every theater of operations. We had explanations of strategy, tactics, and objectives, illustrated by maps and in some cases by moving pictures. We talked to wounded men in hospitals who had just been brought in from the front, as well as with men of all ranks belonging to every branch of the service.

The Fifth Army

We spent days with the Fifth Army as they were undergoing the final phases of intensive training in amphibious operations preparatory to the invasion of Italy, as well as with Commando units and Marines training for jungle fighting in the South Pacific. We saw bomber and fighter squadrons briefed for attack and take off in their planes, both from England and in the Pacific theater. We visited men in their barracks, and chatted with them as they relaxed in Red Cross canteens. We attended the moving picture and the USO shows that the men in the more remote places look forward to so avidly.

The men who are actually fighting this war are thinking about postwar problems, as well as things at home and the conduct of the war. I wish that every member of the Senate could have been with me to share my discomfort during a two-hour grilling by several hundred serv-

ice men in a Red Cross canteen in New Delhi, which they have named "Duration Den." It would have required not only all of the powers of prophecy of the entire Senate, but full and frank replies from the heads of all the Allied powers to answer some of the questions propounded. Any idea that the men are only thinking about the end of the war and getting home would be disabused by a visit to any overseas station.

What I have seen and heard does not make me an expert on all things pertaining to the war, but I have a much clearer picture than I could possibly have gained by zealous attendance on committee hearings for twelve months. Not only is this war the greatest undertaking the American people have ever embarked upon, but, even after having visited all the theaters of operations, it is difficult to grasp the magnitude of the job to which the power and might of the United States and our allies have been harnessed all around the globe. It was a great experience to see first hand the difficulties and obstacles which are requiring such a tremendous expenditure of human energy and material resources, and which demand ingenuity, heroism, and a spirit of sacrifice on the part of millions of our boys and girls.

The over-all problem of transportation involved in this war is so great as to stagger the imagination. It taxes the resources of our nation and the human endurance of our people engaged in it to the limit. The most striking single difficulty is that involved in the effort to supply our forces in China and our Chinese allies. After having been brought thousands of miles by steamship into the harbor of Calcutta, every pound of supplies going to General Chennault's gallant air forces in China must now be loaded or unloaded nine different times, as well as being flown over the towering peaks of the Burma "Hump" before they can be utilized against the enemy.

The job of maintenance and repair in this mechanized war is an onerous one. Veritable factories must follow each army. American engineers and mechanics have built great machine shops at various places across the vast reaches of North Africa, on the scorching rim of the Persian Gulf, in Australia, and on the islands of the South Pacific, where planes, tanks, trucks and ships are either assembled or repaired. I never ceased to marvel at their efficiency. We saw production lines at these remote stations receive airplane engines that seemed to be completely wrecked. A few hours later they emerged wrapped in cellophane and as precisely tooled and efficient as a new engine coming from a plant in the United States.

One benefit we will derive from the enormous expenditures of this awful war lies in the training of large groups of the finest craftsmen and mechanics in the world. Both the Army and the Navy have accomplished wonders in this respect. Boys who twelve months ago were either unemployed or doing work requiring no skill are today repairing the most delicate instruments, such as radar and radio equipment, telephone exchanges, submarine periscopes, and are working with the countless finely balanced machines which are necessary in the operation of airplanes, submarines and other complicated mechanisms of war.

Every American may well be proud of the manner in which our armed forces have met the problem of maintenance and supply. Our difficulties have been so far solved that our troops are now unquestionably the best-fed, best-equipped, and best-provided armed forces that

the world has ever seen. In some of the remote areas the ration is not as tasty and varied as one would like, but all of our men have plenty of nourishing food and clothes adapted to the climate in which they serve and fight.

Treatment of Wounded

The completeness of the hospital facilities both in the field and at permanent stations and the speed with which the sick and wounded receive treatment are almost unbelievable. I do not think we failed to visit a hospital at a single place we stopped, and I talked with doctors, nurses and patients. Men are recovering from wounds in a few weeks in this war which would have proved fatal heretofore, and the use of the sulfa drugs, blood plasma and new methods of treatment are accomplishing miracles. Most of these hospital units moved to the front completely staffed with doctors and nurses from our leading hospitals in the States. The quality of medical treatment received by the sick and wounded in our armed forces is incomparably superior to the average treatment received by the civilian population at home.

All Senators have talked to eyewitnesses who have vividly portrayed some of the difficulties and obstacles with which our fighting men must contend in the course of operations, as well as the indomitable courage and resourcefulness of our boys who are engaged in actual combat. I shall not repeat them. All of us heard sagas of individual heroism and accomplishment which make the stories of the Knights of the Round Table pale in comparison. It was hard to believe that the quiet and modest chap you met in a hospital, cheerfully bearing three or four gaping wounds, was a hero who had either killed eleven Japs singlehandedly or who had flown through the hell of fire which greeted the men who struck the Ploesti oil refineries.

I shall never forget the emotions I experienced as I sat with fifty fighter pilots of the Eighth Air Force in England and heard a handsome blond squadron leader about 25 years old instruct his men on a mission across the Channel. He sounded as casual as if he were discussing the proper play to run in a football game.

Nor can I forget the fine-looking boy, a veteran of six months' jungle fighting at 19, who twelve hours before had received a bullet in his leg while fighting the Japs in the Solomons. It so happened that I knew his grandparents quite well. He was more interested in talking about conditions in Georgia than in New Georgia. After telling me that he hoped to be back in action within three weeks, he wound up by expressing concern about the people back home, saying, "Look after the folks at home, Senator, and we will take care of these Japs out here."

The fighting in Europe is against a determined, well-equipped and resourceful enemy. It does more or less follow the orthodox conception of war. The war in the Pacific is a battle to the death. Tales of incredible and shocking brutality in the treatment of our men, including the wounded, by the Japanese make it easy to understand why no quarter is now being asked or given. The Japs had the early advantage of training in jungle fighting. They are patient and cunning. A Japanese sniper will tie himself in a tree and remain there for three or four days. Another will spend several hours crawling as short a distance as a hundred yards for a shot at an American soldier or marine.



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

At a U. S. air base somewhere in England the five Senators get firsthand information on the operations of our air force

They have a great trick of slipping behind our lines and feigning death along a path on which reinforcements must travel and throwing a grenade into a detachment of our men. They had mastered all of the arts of camouflage in jungle fighting. The best illustration I can use to describe the jungle fighting in the islands of the South Pacific is to compare it with Indian warfare in early Colonial days, with the jungle more fearsome and difficult to penetrate than any primeval forest.

Our men have had to learn jungle fighting the hard way, but they have finally mastered it, and today they are beating the Jap at his own game.

Naval Operations

As a member of the Naval Affairs Committee, I undertook to observe as many of the activities of our Navy in the areas visited as possible. I am frank to say that I believe the Navy is doing a disservice to many American heroes by overstressing its policy of remaining the "silent service." Sailors handled every one of the landing barges which took the troops and marines ashore in the South Pacific, as they did in North Africa, in Sicily and in Italy. They keep the noses of their ships, which are easy targets for bomb and shell, against the sands of the beaches until the last soldier and the last piece of equipment is ashore.

Oftimes the guns of destroyers and cruisers blazed the path for our infantry and tanks. Due to the constant vigilance required to fend off attacks by airplanes and submarines, the men manning these ships often do not get more than two or three hours' sleep a day for as long as a week. In Sicily, one of our light cruisers broke up a tank attack by a regiment of the Hermann Goering Division just before it was apparently about to result in disaster to one of our divisions which had not had time to set up its heavy defense equipment.

In my judgment, the American people are entitled to know more about what the Navy has been doing in order that they may properly appreciate the sacrifices of the men who go down to the sea in ships.

It is inspiring to observe that, in both the Army and the Navy, morale seems to be higher where the hazard is greatest. This is particularly true of the men who man our "pig boats," or submarines. I had an opportunity to talk to the officers and men of many of our underwater craft who are carrying the war to the very shores of Japan. I asked a lad who was a member of the crew of a submarine in drydock at Pearl Harbor, where a huge dent caused by a depth charge was being ironed out, whether he would prefer service on a surface ship. His reply was: "Hell, no. It's safer down there than up above when those airplanes come in with their torpedoes and bombs."

China's Difficulties

Due to the great importance of China to the Allied cause, I regretted that our visit there was not long enough to enable us to have time to go more fully into the details of the situation there. We did, however, have ample opportunity to confer with Generals Stilwell and Chennault, and to visit with the Generalissimo and the leading figures of his Government at Chungking.

Some of the conditions noted in China were most disturbing. Such industries as the country possessed were largely in the area occupied by the Japanese. The country has been in an exhausting war for a number of years and they have suffered great losses. Chinese troops are poorly equipped and in their present state of affairs are confined to defensive action. To apply the word "army" to the forces of China is not to use that word in the same sense in which it is usually understood when referring to the armed forces of other leading Allied powers.

Their form of government lacks many of the elements of a democracy as this term is generally accepted in this country. The Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, is a great patriot. In him rests China's last best hope of salvation as a free and unified democratic state. If any one man in China can accomplish this, he will do it. He is confronted with great difficulties, the details of which I shall not relate.

Notwithstanding all of his handicaps, the Generalissimo refuses even to discuss peace overtures with the Japs, and the fact that China is still in the war as our ally requires the attention of fifteen or more Japanese divisions.

In my opinion, General Chennault is one of the most brilliant soldiers that this war has produced. With an incredibly small number of effective airplanes, he is contributing greatly to keeping China a factor in the war. Certainly no man has ever done more with so little. Considering the limitations upon him, General Stilwell is also rendering a great service to his country and the Allied cause.

It is requiring a superhuman effort to furnish General Chennault's air forces, but the maintenance of air bases in China is of such importance that we should attack the problem of supplying him with redoubled vigor.

On account of her proximity to Japan and her knowledge of the Japanese people, China has the most effective intelligence service on Japanese activities of any of the Allied powers.

We received information from the most reliable sources in China to the effect that we were still continuing to

underestimate the strength of Japan, particularly in the field of production. We were advised that, instead of the 500 planes generally estimated here, the Japs were making more than a thousand planes a month, and were producing twice as much shipping as they were before Pearl Harbor. This may be the answer to the amazement of our commanding officers in the South Pacific as to where the Japs get the planes to replace the large numbers that are shot down so rapidly there.

In addition to the ocean shipping, the Japanese are manufacturing large numbers of lightweight shallow-draft wooden ships powered by Diesel engines. They are using them for interisland transportation, and in some cases over considerable distances. Much timber is being taken from occupied China for that purpose, and we were also told that they had even used some of the trees from the Emperor's sacred forest in Japan for this construction.

I asked some of our submarine commanders about this, and they confirmed the reports that we had received in China. These ships constitute quite a problem to our submarines. Ofttimes sub commanders do not feel justified in expending priceless torpedoes sinking such small craft. They surface and sink them with gunfire. Practically all of these ships are armed, and we have undoubtedly sustained some losses in these actions.

One unit of the Chinese Army is fully trained and equipped. Our transport planes, which are flying equipment in to General Chennault, returned with a cargo of Chinese soldiers. Many thousands of these men who could not be armed and equipped in China have been brought out to a point where equipment could be provided, and are now fully armed, completely furnished with motorized transport, and have been thoroughly trained in all of the latest methods of warfare. Our officers are confident that they are first-class fighting men and will give a good account of themselves when they come to grips with the enemy.

Leave After Long Service

The first question asked by every enlisted man and junior officer who has been overseas any considerable length of time is: "When are we going to get some leave to go home?" All of the veterans realize the value of the experience they have acquired in actual combat, and practically none of them expects to be released from service until the job is done, but there is an overwhelming feeling on the part of those who have been overseas for many long months that arrangements should be made to give them a respite from their trials and dangers and a chance to see their families.

Every member of the Committee is agreed that the War Department should immediately adopt some policy of returning troops home for a leave or rest after certain services have been performed. This has worked well in the case of the crews of our airplanes, who are allowed a fixed period of rest after a certain number of sorties, which varies in different theaters of operations.

I believe it would be a great incentive to the men and would still further reinforce the fine morale that is now displayed if they had definite prospect of a visit home after the performance of a certain task or period of service for which they are assigned. For obvious reasons, this is a difficult matter on which to legislate, but the Com-

mittee has made strong recommendations to the War Department and the Navy Department that a fair policy of leaves be promulgated.

The one bright spot in many of the isolated places where our men are serving has been the American Red Cross and the USO troupes. There is no way to compute what these touches of home life have meant to boys who are working and fighting under almost impossible conditions. The girls in the Red Cross canteens have been worth their weight in gold, and the resourcefulness they have displayed in all conceivable circumstances has been amazing.

We met several of the USO troupes. Some of them were tired and worn, but they were still carrying on, and I am sure that none of them has ever played to more appreciative audiences. A report to the headquarters of our forces in the Middle East on the trials of a group of these entertainers whose stage was the burning sands of the deserts enabled us to have a better appreciation of what these stage people are doing. The report read:

"Attitude of troupe so far is very good. Tonight will play Basra and depart for Khorramshaar tomorrow. Accordion now useless as heat melted wax."

Men who live close to death think on the spiritual side of life. We attended church services at several places, and were much impressed by the manner in which the chaplains are carrying out their multifold duties. We likewise visited several cemeteries where rest those heroes who have made the supreme sacrifice. Even in the haste and confusion of war our honored dead have not been neglected. Those who have loved ones or friends who have fallen in battle would be comforted if they could see the well-kept cemeteries where they sleep and the solicitude of the chaplains in charge to have every grave properly marked amidst surroundings of appropriate dignity.

Any account of our observations without a word of praise to the Navy Seabees and the Army Engineers would be incomplete as well as unjust to some of the heroes of this war. From the frozen lava beds of Iceland to the blistering sands of the deserts, these men work as high as twenty hours some days constructing facilities that are essential to modern war. When the history of this war is written, their unselfish sacrifices and tireless labor should adorn one of its brightest pages. To date they have received far too little credit.

Expectations of Relief

I was very much concerned to note that for some reason many of the most recent of our allies and our late enemies have great expectations as to what they are to receive from the United States in rehabilitation. It is very unfortunate that their expectations are so high.

The widespread idea that we are preparing to look after all of the needs of the world and to restore the destruction wrought by this war has caused me seriously to question the wisdom of delegating to a civilian agency the responsibility of handling relief and rehabilitation abroad. The establishment of a large civilian agency with widespread activities is likely either to generate unnecessary bitterness by failing to fulfill hopes that are excessive or else prove to be a more expensive under-

taking than the American people should be compelled to finance.

I believe it would be much better for all concerned if the people of North Africa and Italy, particularly, were frankly given to understand now that, while willing to assist to a reasonable extent, we do not consider it the responsibility of the United States to rebuild destroyed cities or embark upon any long-time program of relief. Let them know that, in the last analysis, they will be compelled to work out their own destiny and restore the destruction of war by their own efforts.

Such necessary relief can be handled by the Army, even if a unit has to be established for that purpose. The Army can supply rations in the areas that have suffered most severely and thereby prevent actual starvation. In no case should relief or rehabilitation assume such proportions that the recipients will have reason to expect or depend on American bounty for any long period of time.

I hope that I do not sound callous when I say that in my opinion this relief should be on a temporary basis, and, so far as adults are concerned, should be confined to the very minimum, a sufficiency for a short period to maintain life, but kept so small that it will not stifle a desire to supplement the ration received from us through other efforts. We should be very careful not to publicize or embark upon a policy which will either lead to greater misunderstanding or result in stupendous charges against the Treasury that our people should not be called upon to meet.

Our British Allies

Wherever we went we were most courteously received by the officials of the British Empire. I was much impressed by their frankness in discussing not only the conduct of the war, but postwar problems. The people of England have made great sacrifices in this war and have displayed a fortitude in the face of constant danger which we might well emulate. Many of their cities have been heavily bombed. The food in England was scarcer than in any other spot we visited. All clothing is strictly rationed. Civilians have practically no gasoline, and are converting their cars and trucks to charcoal burners.

The British people have hospitably received the American soldiers who are stationed in their midst. From a military standpoint, they have displayed every quality that one could ask in an ally. The British Tommy is a first-class soldier. Wherever I had an opportunity to visit with our Navy, both enlisted men and officers spoke in glowing terms of the skill and seamanship and the courage of the British tar. The Royal Navy is still living up to its finest traditions. The heroic exploits of the Royal Air Force already belong to the legends of this war. As fighting men, they are good partners to have in a scrap.

We had some opportunity to observe the operation of the British Government, not only at home, but throughout the Empire. I came home with a healthy respect bordering on envy for the efficiency of the British in administration and in the handling of their relations with other nations and in their own vast dominion. The British have a definite foreign policy with respect to every corner of the globe. Every civil servant and every officer of any rank is apparently fully acquainted with Empire policy as it applies either militarily, diplomatically or

commercially. Every action of the responsible officials of Government is designed to promote that policy.

If our nation has a definite policy which extends longer than six months after the conclusion of the war in any of the far-flung lands in which American troops are fighting and American dollars are being spent, I was unable to find anyone among our officers abroad who could define it.

We cannot afford to rely upon even so splendid an ally as the United Kingdom to protect all our interests or there will be inevitable conflict and confusion after the war. Our civil agencies abroad are numerous, but too often they are either working at cross purposes or, worse to relate, in some cases have no apparent purpose. Our postwar interests are being neglected and we stand to get very little or no return from our immense expenditures.

In places, our representation abroad was apparently weak. Too many of our representatives still appear to

rely upon ancient protocol and the easy ways and flowery terms which have been in vogue in the past. This is a day of realism, as might be expected when great peoples are fighting for their very lives. Realists are directing this war in the field as well as in places of power, not only in enemy lands, but among our allies. We would do well to assume a more realistic attitude.

In my opinion, all of our civilian agencies operating outside of the United States should be co-ordinated in the hands of some two-fisted American who has an understanding of American interests in all international matters. The old type of kid-glove diplomacy, including high-flown but vague phraseology, does not have any place in today's international dealings. Everyone can understand men like Admiral Standley, who bluntly speak their minds, and, whatever may have been his other qualifications, I believe that representatives of his type will create more respect and genuine good will for the United States throughout the world than many of the men and most of the methods we are now employing.

We should keep closer check on the expensive tools of war that we are dealing out on such a gigantic scale under Lend-Lease arrangements. In the Mediterranean area and the Middle East, our British Allies have stressed the fact that they have given large quantities of war supplies to Turkey as very effective propaganda to gain the good will of the 250,000,000 Mohammedans of the world. Much of this military equipment transferred by England to Turkey is American-made and American-financed equipment, and was transferred to England under Lend-Lease.

Every sensible person realizes that we will not be paid in full for all of the material of war which we have advanced to our allies under Lend-Lease. No one really expects it. In my judgment, however, it is a very poor policy to permit Lend-Lease equipment, paid for by the people of the United States, to be used to buy good will even for our closest friend when good will is such an important commodity. If it is good business for England to get credit with Turkey and the friends of Turkey for helping that nation in time of danger, it would seem to me to be worth something to the United States.

In like manner, some of the equipment which is included in the British transfers to Russia is American-made or American-bought. American food handled on a Lend-Lease basis has likewise been used by the British Food Commission to feed refugees and other hungry peoples of the earth, and I doubt that the recipient is always aware of the fact that the United States was the true benefactor.

I would be the last to do or say anything which would cause any breach between our country and our British allies. I believe that the future peace of the world largely depends upon a complete understanding between us. However, matters of this kind can surely be adjusted without disturbing good relations. No people are perfect, including our own, and I feel that there will be a better understanding and more mutual respect between us and less possibility of feeling which might prevent or postpone a complete accord after the war if such matters are worked out as we go along.

One source of irritation to our men who are serving in that large portion of the world which is under the aegis of that great news agency, Reuter's, is the paucity of news as to the American war effort. After having traveled



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

Senator Russell (right) viewing a U. S. anti-aircraft emplacement at one of our outposts in the Mediterranean area

for practically a month in that area, I can understand how they feel. On some days it would have been difficult from reading the papers to know that the United States was participating in the war at all. National pride, of course, colors our own news, and we are not slow to boast about the accomplishments of our armed forces.

However, it seems to me that on the whole our press has been much fairer with our allies in reporting the war than they have been with us. I could give many illustrations, but this excerpt from a leading paper in Australia illustrates what I am talking about. The article was written on the day that Italy surrendered. Despite the kindness with which our troops have been received in Australia, it is disturbing to an American soldier there to read:

"There is great joy in Britain that Italy's downfall should so largely be a British Empire affair. Empire forces were responsible for 90 per cent of the battles from the first battle in East Africa right to the final landing on the Italian mainland."

All in all, the morale of our troops in India appeared to be lower than in any other theater. India is in many respects a very depressing place for troops to be stationed. This great country of three hundred fifty million souls is a land of contrasts—of great wealth of the few and indescribable poverty and filth of the many. A great famine is sweeping some of the provinces, causing unspeakable suffering and many deaths from starvation.

Any investigation of the complex problem posed by the conflicts between castes and creeds, Indian Nationalists and British Government, ancient ingrained habit and today's civilization, was not within the scope of our duties. The few days that I spent in India, however, did confirm me in the belief that it would require unremitting investigation over many years to even faintly understand the so-called Indian problem, and that those who have never been there but have a five-minute solution are extremely foolhardy.

There was much comment on the part of our troops on the very apparent lethargy of the British war effort in that area. This lethargy has undoubtedly affected morale. I have no knowledge of what should be implied from the appointment of Lord Mountbatten to command the large forces assembled in this theater, but I have reason to hope that it means that the period of inactivity is about to be ended.

I met Lord Mountbatten in London. Any opinion formed on such a brief meeting may well be erroneous, but I am strongly impressed that Mountbatten is not the type of man who will permit the Japs to continue to occupy Burma and to strengthen their hold on Malaya and the Indies without annoyance. He struck me as being a man of action who will not be content with a moribund policy of defense.

Petroleum

This war of mechanized transport, involving millions of vehicles, from huge ocean liners to the innumerable jeeps which have become so indispensable, is consuming petroleum products in staggering amounts. Up to now, we have been depleting our petroleum stocks at a ruinous rate, supplying not only our own forces but those of our allies. It is now time to utilize the petroleum deposits of

other parts of the world. Otherwise, the end of the war will find our own deposits practically exhausted.

The President's statement that plans are being made to accomplish this is highly gratifying. There have been sound reasons heretofore for not more widely employing the huge deposits of the Persian Gulf. These reasons were based upon difficulties of transportation. With the opening of the Mediterranean and the great increase in construction of shipping, there is no longer any valid reason for not giving our oil deposits a rest and tapping those of other areas.

At one time we were shipping high-octane gasoline to Russia, which has great petroleum reserves, but lacked refineries. Refineries have now been supplied Russia. We should no longer be compelled to draw on our dwindling petroleum reserves for use in most of the foreign theaters of operation.

Postwar Air Rights

All of us are concerned about American rights in air bases and air facilities which have been constructed at our expense all over the world. There should be no delay in having some definite understanding and agreement as to the postwar rights of commercial aviation. Certainly we occupy a better position to negotiate such understandings now than we will after the war is over. We cannot expect to have sovereignty over all bases that we have constructed for military purposes, but we should assure to American enterprise an equal chance with others in these bases we have paid for, and the right to operate in all parts of the world.

Air power is the decisive factor in this war. With the great developments being made daily in aviation, the peace of the world and the outcome of any future wars will depend directly upon air power. Planes must have bases from which to operate. We should begin now to plan for the postwar period, both to assure the future defense of the United States and to assist in maintaining world peace on a basis of justice and equality.

Many of our close off-shore bases are built on lands under foreign flags. I have never been satisfied with the 99-year lease given the United States in the destroyer deal negotiated by this country before we entered the war. This is not any 99-year country. Where would we be today if Jefferson had handled the Louisiana Purchase on any such basis, or if our rights in the Florida or even the Alaska Purchase had been subjected to any such limitation? If we can be trusted for 99 years to occupy and develop defenses on the lands of our allies essential to our defense, there is no reason why future generations, who will still be paying for this war, should be denied the protection that these bases afford.

Time can bring remarkable changes. War will move much faster in the future than it has even in this day of blitz. With the tide of Lend-Lease running high from our shores, future generations of Americans should not be subjected to the danger of having these bases, built and maintained by American dollars, used against them 100 years from now. It should be possible to work out some arrangements which will give us permanently such protection as these bases may afford.

There are many other important spots on the globe which have been fortified and developed with American money and sweat which will become increasingly im-

portant to the defense of the United States with the rapid improvement of air and sea transportation. The smaller the world becomes, the closer are these bases to our shores.

I invite your attention to the importance of some arrangement with the Government of Iceland in the post-war period which will permit us to use the very expensive facilities we have constructed on that Island. A glance at the map will show that heavy bombers and submarines based on Iceland can close all of the shipping lanes of the North Atlantic. In any future war, control of Iceland means control of the North Atlantic Ocean.

We are now in Iceland at the invitation of the Icelandic Government issued before Pearl Harbor. Our British allies, appreciating the significance and importance of Iceland, had moved in some time before. It was a very fortunate thing that they did, because, if Germany had beaten the British to Iceland, it could have prolonged this war by years, and undoubtedly would have enormously increased the losses of the Allied nations.

Iceland, with 120,000 people, occupying an area of 40,000 square miles, manifestly cannot defend itself against aggression. A strong enemy in Iceland would ever be a great menace to the security of the United States. We should endeavor to protect the millions of dollars and the tremendous effort that we have spent to secure our northern flank and sea lanes by building fields and bases in Iceland. If we should have another war in the future, it would cost the lives of many American boys and the expenditure of even greater sums to restore our present position.

Dakar, on the West Coast of Africa, occupies the same position in relation to the South Atlantic as Iceland does to the North Atlantic. As a matter of self-defense, we should see to it that we either have some rights in Dakar or that it does not fall into unfriendly hands, or is not committed to the hands of those who are unable to defend this vital base which can dominate the South Atlantic and threaten all South America.

The Pacific Islands

In the Pacific, our boys are already fighting and dying over and around the islands that were mandated to Japan after the last World War. Much more precious blood will be shed before the Japs are finally rooted out. Certainly, as a result of the sacrifices of these men, and to prevent the further killing of the boys of the second or third generation moving back into these islands in some future war, we should have some definite policy with respect to the future status of these islands that will assure the defense of the United States as well as contribute to the peace of the world. We have rights in these islands that are being purchased today with the blood of American boys.

I spent several days on the island of New Caledonia, one of the westernmost of the Pacific islands. This is a French possession. In order to assure an open sea route to Australia and the bases of operations against the Japs in the islands of the Pacific, we have spent many millions of dollars fortifying this island. It has a fine natural land-locked harbor. We have built wharves and docks, seaplane bases, airfields, and roads, barracks, and hospitals, and placed heavy defense artillery to beat off the strongest Japanese attack.



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

Senators Lodge and Russell at a Southwest Pacific base

We have in operation at our bases there some of the finest repair and machine shops that I saw anywhere. In brief, New Caledonia has been transformed by American dollars and American sweat and sacrifice into an all but impregnable fortress. So long as it is in friendly hands and we have any considerable naval and air power, no enemy from the west can with safety attack either North or South America without reducing it first.

In the past we have heard a great deal about the fortification of Guam. I do not know what future plans or program for the fortification of Guam the American Congress will be compelled to pass upon. I do believe, however, that if we could obtain rights in New Caledonia and utilize the fortifications and facilities already existing, it would save much of the expense of fortifying Guam. It seems to me that negotiations should be entered into at the earliest possible date looking to the acquisition, by fair and just arrangements, either of title to all of New Caledonia or perpetual rights in and to the bases and facilities we have constructed.

I know that there are those who will hurl the charge of imperialism at such suggestions and claim that they are in derogation to the terms of the Atlantic Charter. I do not think that there is anything imperialistic about it. Call it what you will, it is a realistic step to prevent another generation of Americans, who will undoubtedly still be paying for the present war, from being compelled to pay again in blood and treasure taking these islands back from enemies who may obtain them if we follow the policy of take-and-abandon after this war is over.

American boys will soon be dying to free the soil of France from a foreign invader. We are now equipping many French divisions in North Africa with American arms in order that they may join in the fight for the liberation of France. We are supplying the French people in North Africa with petroleum, clothing and many other articles through Lend-Lease. When the motherland of France is freed from the German invader, we will undoubtedly spend huge sums for relief and rehabilitation in France. It is not too much to ask that, for the sake of the future defense of America we be given some rights in

an island which means nothing to the defense of France, but may be vital to our own defense.

Overconfidence a Great Danger

Nothing that I saw in the course of my travels would justify any confidence that the war is nearly over. Indeed I believe that over-optimism is one of the enemies which the American people must constantly fight, day and night. The German Army, though extended to the limit, is still a most formidable military organization. Their first-line troops are still the equal of any in skill and fanatical bravery.

While in North Africa, we were told of an incident in Sicily where a company of parachute troops were posted in an olive grove with orders to delay the American advance for twelve hours at any cost. When the grove was finally stormed and captured, over 200 of the 250 men stationed there were dead, and the remainder, with four or five exceptions, were wounded. One of the unwounded leaped at his American captor and bit him entirely through the hand. The Germans are giving ground in Russia and in Italy, but discipline is still strong, and their retreats are still orderly. They are falling back to ever-stronger defenses, and it is always well to bear in mind that, up to the time of the Armistice in 1918, the German Army was carrying out orders and was still a strong and organized fighting force.

Any hope for an early defeat of Germany must depend upon the collapse of the Army due to shortage of fighting equipment or to breakdown of civilian morale and revolution within. They are taking a terrific pounding by day and by night from our gallant airmen and the RAF. We will soon be in a position to increase substantially the bombing of Germany from bases in Italy as well as from England, and the number of German factories destroyed and families driven from their homes will greatly increase.

But all of this is not done without loss. The Germans have turned from the production of bombers to fighter planes in the effort to stop the destruction of their homeland from the air. They are devising new methods such as the rocket guns and small parachute bombs dropped from the air in the effort to destroy our air forces. While our military authorities say the price we are paying is not excessive in comparison with the destruction our air forces are causing, we must frankly face the fact that the increasing tempo of bombing likewise brings about increasingly severe losses of our own in men and equipment.

In the Pacific, we have only whipped the Japanese in the outposts of their ill-gotten empire. The bulk of their Army and the major units of their Navy have not yet been brought into action. We have a long, hard, bloody job before us, and I fear that the sacrifices, shocks and losses we must yet endure are much greater than the average American citizen anticipates.

Conclusions

In summation of my observations, I would say:

1. American production has justified our proudest boasts by turning out tools of war of high quality in huge quantities. The men in the field are satisfied with the weapons issued them. We are making great strides in assembling the facilities of transportation necessary to

fight a war on every continent and every sea of the globe. This stupendous effort constitutes a great drain upon our natural resources. We should pay more attention to the utilization of raw materials of other lands lest the end of the war find those resources virtually untapped and our own exhausted. We should be more careful in the distribution of the products of American industry financed by American taxpayers.

2. Our lack of a postwar policy and stronger representation abroad in some key positions is likely to cost us dearly in the postwar period. All agencies having to do with any phase of the war effort abroad should be co-ordinated.

3. We must constantly combat any tendency to underestimate our enemies or to delude ourselves with optimism. The slightest relaxation in the national war effort at home will be paid in the blood of American boys fighting overseas.

4. The American Army, Navy and Marine Corps are well fed, well equipped and every reasonable provision has been made for their health, comfort and welfare. No armed force in history has ever been so well supplied. Command and staff work have been of the highest caliber. Our leaders have to date accomplished all that the American people could have reasonably expected of them.

5. The general conduct of our troops in action has been good. Their discipline is satisfactory and they are daily becoming more efficient in the grim business of war. Combat experience is forging our Army, Navy and Marine Corps into the toughest and most efficient fighting machine the world has ever seen. No one who has ever had any contact with troops would contend that every man is a fearless hero, who craves contact with the enemy, but, as organizations, our men have displayed courage and a willingness to fight and sacrifice which measures up to or surpasses the finest traditions of our armed services.

The number of individuals who have performed remarkable feats of heroism, requiring resourcefulness and great personal bravery, is unusually high. The men in uniform have made up their minds to see this thing through to victory, whatever it may take. If our civilian population gives them unstinted support, they will win the total victory over our enemies, perhaps sooner than we have any right to expect.

Attitude Toward Britain

That is the record, Mr. President, as complete as I can make it, of my remarks in the executive session of the Senate. It has not been altered materially in either form or substance. I tried to be factual and speak as objectively as possible.

We are told that what was said here has caused a great deal of bitterness and resentment in the United Kingdom. If this be true in my own case, my high opinion of the British people would cause me to believe that the accounts they received of what was said must have been distorted even worse than by our own press. Not a word of my statement was intended as an attack on Great Britain.

If any official of the British Empire or the British press or people is offended, it is regrettable, for no offense is intended, but I would not have this statement construed

anywhere as an apology for my position. If offense be found, I must say in all candor that our British allies have become unduly sensitive if an American citizen and Senator cannot discuss the operations and policies of his own Government, of which I am a part, without raising a storm of furor and resentment throughout the United Kingdom and the Empire.

My admiration for the British people is almost extravagant, but it must be remembered that I think and speak as a citizen and a Senator of the United States. What I saw was through American eyes. I weighed, observed, and reported as an American who properly holds the future welfare of these United States above any other consideration. I would regret if any word of mine should cause dissension or ill feeling between the United States and any of our allies, but if such word be necessary to protect our legitimate interests, either during this war or in the postwar world, I would still feel duty-bound to speak.

The chain which binds the United Nations together is frail indeed if there are links which cannot stand the strain of expression of opinion made in good faith in the parliamentary bodies of a democracy. To those few who hold the opinion that it is impertinent for an American to discuss the part played by the British in this war, I would point to the restraint and poise shown by the American people when officials of the British Empire tell us what is expected of us as a proper standard of conduct.

Only a few days ago that pillar of Empire and great world figure, General Smuts, in a speech which was widely publicized throughout the world as an expression of official British opinion, told the people of the United States very frankly that we were expected to furnish in large measure the men who will make the bloody assault to breach Hitler's fortress of Europe.

Few Americans failed to grasp all of the implications of General Smuts's statement. The lives of American boys are infinitely more precious to us than all of the material which will ever be handled under Lend-Lease. Nevertheless, General Smuts's statement did not evoke any great public resentment and outcry in the United States.

The President did not send a message to Congress commenting with thinly veiled sarcasm on advice from abroad. I have not seen in the American press caricatures of General Smuts, denouncing him for making a public statement as to what he considered the obligation of America in the performance of its duty to the common effort. I have not heard of any member of Congress becoming unduly excited.

Every patriotic American expects our country to do its full part in this war, but I do not believe that doing our part requires us to so keep our light under a bushel that, where permitted to think, we are expected to speak in whispers of the value of the contribution of our own country to the cause of Allied victory.

I, therefore, am not greatly disturbed by that portion of the American press or officialdom which see ghosts every time any person in American public life has the temerity to suggest that it is proper for our allies to appreciate the extent of our efforts and sacrifices in this war as we appreciate their efforts and sacrifices. We have come to a pretty pass if a citizen of the United States cannot support with wholehearted devotion the cause of his own country without subjecting himself to the charge that he is anti-British or anti-Russian.

Recently, a man who has spent his life in the service of the United States was pilloried in some quarters because he publicly stated that the people of Russia were not fully aware of the assistance given them by this country. Russian armies and Russian people have won the undying gratitude of the American people for the heroism and spirit of sacrifice with which they have met the onslaught of the brutal hordes of Nazi Germany.

Too much praise cannot be given their heroism, and, with rare exceptions, that praise has been spread with lavish hand in every public forum in the United States and through press and pulpit. It does not detract one jot or tittle from the valor of the Russian armies or the sacrifices of the Russian people to mention in public the fact that the United States, and indeed Great Britain as well, has made a stupendous effort to furnish equipment to those armies, and that the equipment given contributed to the victories won.

The American people have before them each day the achievements of the Russian armies. The Russian Government has not hesitated to complain frequently and publicly of our failure to open a second front when and where Russia wants it instead of when and where our own military experts think advisable. The American people have expressed no resentment of this criticism, and it is inexplicable to me that a suggestion that the masses of the Russian people should have knowledge of our efforts to aid them is likely to cause disunity between comrades in a fight involving the fate and freedom of both the people of the United States and of Russia.

I yield to no one in the fervor of my desire for the closest unity between the Allied nations to achieve the victory over our common enemies. I am as anxious as any man for the United States to co-operate with Russia, England, China, and the other Allied powers in maintaining peace in the years to follow that victory. I believe that the keystone of any lasting world peace depends upon a complete understanding between the United States and the British Empire.

But, Mr. President, this co-operation and understanding cannot be had except upon a basis of equality and frank and fair dealings. If such matters as I have dealt with in this report cannot be publicly discussed and fairly adjusted, even in time of war, it does not augur well for the harmonious relations the American people so earnestly desire in the postwar period, for victory over our enemies will not settle all world problems.

For my own part, I have too great a faith in the common sense and ingrained fairness of the average citizen of all of the United Nations, wherever he may live, to believe that harm can result from fully publicizing the true facts as to the contribution of every nation engaged in this great common enterprise, whether it be military operations on land and sea or in the operations of Lend-Lease, either direct or reverse.

Frank discussion will always dissipate the clouds of suspicion. It will promote a better understanding between all of the Allied nations in the trying days ahead of us after the victory is won. It will pave the way for the necessary sense of appreciation of sacrifices in a common cause which begets good will between peoples. On such good will and understanding any permanent peace for this stricken world must depend.

(Text of an address delivered on the floor of the Senate Oct. 28, 1943.)

AT NO. 10 DOWNING STREET



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

Ambassador Winant, Senators Brewster, Lodge, Russell, Chandler and Mead photographed in front of the Prime Minister's residence after a private conference with Mr. Churchill

SIGNING THE VISITORS' BOOK AT RED CROSS WELFARE STATION



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

The five Senators at a Red Cross field station . . . part of a world-wide system of club rooms and community centers . . . where servicemen relax when not in combat

Senator Brewster:

"Men in Motion" came happily to hand as we were leaving Washington on our global tour and became the "Book of the Trip" in the little library we accumulated for the hours we spent aloft. Young America is probably in no way surprised at our traveling around the earth in sixty-five days. An older generation, however, brought up on the fantastic tale of "Around the World in Eighty Days," may well ponder how much time we spent with our feet upon the ground.

Nine days of actual flying time left us with fifty-six days for firsthand contact with some of the realities of global war.

To those of our critics who have thought our experience may have left us still somewhat in the air, it will be reassuring to know how our necessarily limited time was actually distributed.

One emerges with a profound impression of the way in which aviation has annihilated space. A thousand miles between breakfast and lunch was an ordinary morning's run, with opportunity en route to compile and dictate a report on the observations of the preceding day and to go over the very full memoranda with which we were supplied by the various executive departments on the American installations and personnel at our next landing.

The afternoons were then available for inspections on the ground and the evenings for conferences with the various officials and civilian agencies with whom we were in contact.

Complete and cordial co-operation in all the areas visited was the order of the day, and advance notice of our arrival made possible the designation of informed officials to expedite our inspections without interruption of their activities.

Any concern as to distraction of those immediately responsible for the war effort in the various theaters was always obviated by the insistence of Senator Russell, as the very competent and personable chairman of the Committee, that our time with the commander in chief and his immediate associates should be limited to a minimum.

Purposes of Trip

With hundreds of thousands of American boys overseas and more thousands spreading out to every quarter of the globe with every passing day, and with American installations and equipment overseas running into billions of dollars and constantly increasing, there very naturally developed in Washington the idea that some members of the Senate associated with the Committee concerned with the war effort might prudently see things at first hand as civilian observers of the progress of the winning of the war.

The desirability of adequate information for the American people on the course of the war and of American activities overseas had been long since recognized in the very generous allocation of American press correspondents to every quarter of the globe. Their observations and reports, however, must necessarily be of a somewhat different character and approach than may be the case with a senatorial committee.

The pros and cons of such a trip and its possible values to the Senate and the country were discussed for many months both among the members of the Senate and with the executive departments immediately concerned and the Majority and Minority Leaders in the Senate were finally asked to designate a committee to make the trip.

Truman Committee

Senator Mead of New York and I were nominated by Senator Truman as a subcommittee of the so-called Truman Committee created by the Senate to investigate defense expenditures.

From the inception of this Committee, its membership under the leadership of its chairman have been constantly conscious of the peril of conceiving of our Committee as concerned with the conduct of the war in the field of strategy or tactics.

Congressional experience with such a committee in 1863 has been repeatedly cited in the Committee discussions as furnishing an example to be avoided under a proper appreciation of our constitutional processes and responsibilities.

Senator Truman, as chairman of the Committee, has thoroughly although tactfully disciplined his associates as to our lack of concern or responsibility for global strategy or any other kind of strategy, planned or otherwise.

Before leaving Washington, Senator Mead and I were furnished by Senator Truman, as chairman, with an outline of matters to which he wished us to give particular attention. (Text of Senator Truman's statement on page 21.)

Subsequently Senator Mead made a statement on July 26, 1943, prior to his departure. (Text of Senator Mead's statement on page 22.)

In order to be properly prepared for the trip, Senator Mead, as chairman of the subcommittee, in co-operation with the staff of the Truman Committee arranged executive sessions with all the various agencies concerned, securing comprehensive data on activities overseas with which we should be concerned.

The War and Navy departments and the State Department co-operated in the arrangement of the itinerary, and all the various civilian agencies concerned with the war effort overseas were consulted both as to the policies that were current and in contemplation as to the methods of handling the problems of both personnel and material.

The Truman Committee has also never had any illusions as to its exclusive responsibility for an investigation. Various legislative and appropriation committees of the Congress have primary responsibility in these fields and very great care has always been taken to avoid overlapping or duplication. Comity has been the order of the day and still continues to be the firm concern of the Committee in order that Congress shall exemplify that co-ordination in its functioning that it seeks constantly to inculcate in its contacts with executive departments.

This practice of division of responsibility was of very great assistance in the functioning of the Committee of five members from the Senate in the very limited time at

our disposal, with Senator Chandler and Senator Lodge giving primary concern to the military activities in various areas, Senator Russell giving primary attention to naval and appropriation matters, while Senator Mead and myself were concentrated particularly upon the vast variety of civilian activities which have necessarily developed in this global war.

The full Committee, however, always attended all major conferences in the various theaters and all the members concurred in the report summarized in the ten paragraphs representing our conclusions from the trip.

The sharp differentiation between the legislative and executive function under our form of Government has been kept constantly in mind, although with three hundred billion dollars made available to the executive department for the war effort, legislative accounting is inevitable and of infinitely greater value to all concerned insofar as it can be kept current.

The legislative branch in time of war serves rather necessarily as a safety valve for the vast volume of complaints that pour in from all sources as to irregularities or inefficiencies in the war effort. In a democracy, sympathetic interest in these reports is essential to the development and maintenance of a united front.

The staff of the Truman Committee has been constantly occupied with winnowing the wheat from the chaff in these various complaints and has kept in constant contact with the executive departments concerned in most friendly collaboration and in seeking to evolve the technique that may keep at a minimum the distraction of those in authority from the war effort.

The War and Navy departments have long since found the importance of most careful inspection and review of their vast and varied activities and our inquiries simply serve as a supplement of the careful self-scrutiny that they constantly carry on.

Flying over the pyramids, however, we were again forcibly reminded that bureaucracy always tends to atrophy and this tends to hold true even under the stimulus of war.

Foreign Relations

As compared with Great Britain, our activities in the field of foreign relations have been extremely limited as a result of our concentration in the past century upon the development of a continent and our necessary preoccupation with internal affairs.

This most significant fact impressed itself very deeply upon us as we journeyed around the globe, since three-quarters of our journey was within the vast extent of the British Empire and this gave us opportunity and occasion to observe its implications in the conduct of world affairs.

In addition to reviewing the world picture with representatives of our own State Department before leaving Washington, Senator Mead and I asked for and were accorded the courtesy of an extended interview with Lord Halifax, British Ambassador in Washington. This expert in the field of foreign relations very courteously made available to us a rather comprehensive picture of the evolution of British diplomatic and trade organizations around the world. This information was supplemented by conferences with Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and

Minister of Information Brenden Bracken in London, where we were again most courteously received and accorded every consideration by these very busy men and their associates.

Our procedure on tour very quickly fell into rather definite grooves as soon as the formalities and brief courtesies incident to our arrival were disposed of. The program prepared by the local authority would be considered covering the various installations and activities to be examined. If a great deal of territory was to be covered in a very limited time, the Committee would subdivide in accordance with its various interests and functions. Otherwise, general inspection would go forward as a group. Meanwhile, arrangements would be made by the American diplomatic representative in the area for all the civilian agencies to meet with Senator Mead and myself, with one or two other members of the Committee sitting in if they so desired.

Stenographers were furnished in the local area and a detailed picture was secured from the various civilian agencies as to their policies and practices and the degree of co-ordination which had been achieved in the rapidly evolving activities incident to the war.

Usually all of the agencies concerned were examined at one time for reasons of convenience and expedition, as it was then possible to check immediately on any misunderstandings or conflicts of authority or policy or purpose.

Each day transcripts of these records were forwarded to Washington together with a report from the subcommittee on our observations and suggestions as to further inquiries which should be pursued in Washington in clearing up any misunderstandings or confusion that seemed to prevail in the various areas.

Since our return, the regular practice of the Truman Committee in calling in all the various departments and bureaus concerned for an executive session on matters which seemed to us appropriate for further inquiry have been pursued and the sessions are still in progress.

As promptly as possible, complete reports will be formulated for the full Committee, with such suggestions as to action as may be deemed appropriate. It is the unvarying practice of the Committee before issuing a report of this character to submit it to the department concerned for final checking in order to avoid any possibility of inaccuracy or misunderstanding as to the various matters involved. Any statements meanwhile represent simply the observations and views of the particular individual Committee member involved.

Nature of This Report

This general commentary is accordingly prepared with all the foregoing limitations in mind, with the approval of Senator Truman as to our action, but without commitment of him or other members of the Committee to any of our inferences or conclusions. The degree of public interest in this global tour and the public investment involved seemed to warrant this individual narrative in addition to the Truman Committee report that will follow in due course.

The mothers of America may well be proud of their sons and reassured as to the thought that is being given to their welfare. Never perhaps in history has more attention been lavished upon the well-being of those in the

service of their country. The record of recovery from wounds and of protection from the difficulties incident to operations in every quarter of the globe, from the Arctic to the tropics, is a sufficient indication of the progress that has been made in this field even since the last great war.

Whether viewed from a humanitarian standpoint or the simple significance and value of these highly trained boys to their country, there is great reason for gratification over the progress that has been made in this field.

Their moral as well as physical well-being has also been a matter of most intimate and unprecedented concern. With boys far younger than usual being taken from their various communities and sent to the far corners of the globe, where conditions are often very different from those in their home towns in America, those in authority have properly recognized that they must see to it that these boys are given every possible protection against conditions with which they were not formerly familiar.

As members of the armed forces of our country in our own youth in time of war, some of us were somewhat familiar with the problems that are faced and we took occasion in all the places we visited to see as to conditions prevailing when the boys were off duty in places where there were afforded any opportunities for relaxation. The American Army is doing more fighting with less liquor than any other army in the history of the world. The same statement may be made regarding all other forms of dissipation.

Wherever possible, provision has been made for leave under conditions that will give the boys an opportunity to learn something of the country where they find themselves and to have every opportunity for healthful recreation.

The Red Cross has been doing a wonderful work in this field with the centers which it has provided contiguous to the camps and in the various areas and communities behind the front. Several thousand splendid American girls have been sent out to look after these club rooms. Everywhere these fine girls were furnishing a touch of home and inspiration to these boys who were so far away from home. The atmosphere was all that could be desired and too high praise cannot be given to those who have planned this program and spread these activities entirely around the world.

Everywhere American troops were found there were splendidly equipped hospitals to care for their well-being, with trained nurses in attendance who have volunteered for service anywhere. We saw these girls carrying on under all manner of conditions, from the Quonset huts of Iceland, where two feet of rocks were piled beside their rounded metal roofs to anchor the buildings from being blown away by the terrific gales, on down to the bamboo huts of the tropics, where the temperature outside was 160 degrees above zero. Always the atmosphere was cheerful and every comfort humanly possible was being afforded to the boys in their care. These nurses have now become literally "Angels of Light," as we saw them flying to the combat areas to bring back boys who needed immediate attention. We saw these boys on the operating table two hundred miles behind the front within five hours after they were wounded.

These observations may come with some measure of reassurance to the mothers of America that every human care is being taken to look out for their sons.

Never were there less indications of the dissipation that is sometimes supposed to be associated with armies far from home. The boys are kept busy in modern war with all of the intricate paraphernalia that is incident to the streamlined military machine of today. Clear heads are imperatively required. The crew of a modern bomber desire and demand that every member be in the pink of condition. The lives of all depend upon the alertness of each one.

When opportunity comes for relaxation, they find rich rewards in the short time which they might have off duty in seeing something of the strange lands in which they find themselves. These boys will return with a new appreciation of the blessings of America and enriched by a knowledge of how and under what difficult conditions so many other peoples are compelled to carry on.

In many areas, we found the WACS carrying on most effectively and rendering yeoman service. These well-trained girls were filling various positions with great credit to themselves and to their training. Every one was taking a place that would otherwise require a father to fill.

Their living conditions were all that could be desired and no mother need have any concern as to the environment in which her daughter will live as a member of the WACS.

The commanding officers all spoke in the highest terms of their service and were all, without exception, desirous of receiving increased increments because of their efficient service.

On several Sundays, we were privileged to attend chapel services in various quarters of the globe and were many times in contact with the chaplains who carry on day in and day out looking after the welfare of the boys under their charge.

One of the most inspiring memories of the trip is the beautiful chapel erected from bamboo and native woods and grass at Guadalcanal by the natives of this Island in tribute to the Americans who delivered them from the Japanese occupation. At this spot we saw natives assembled to join in tribute to the Americans who had sacrificed so much in their behalf and in their simple service we saw a symbol of what America has come to mean to so many peoples of the earth.

Morale of American Troops

All the members of the Committee are in accord on the remarkable progress which has been made in sending American personnel and material to the far corners of the earth and also on the high morale that was almost everywhere evident.

In only two places did we find particular cause for concern. One was in Iceland, where some of the boys had been kept for nearly two years under conditions that do not have the stimulus of action and in a volcanic country without the trees and fields to which they are accustomed in their home country. In addition, during much of the year there is a very limited period of daylight, only extending for a few hours, and the Committee were all in agreement, and the military authorities as well, that, as rapidly as transportation conditions should permit, the boys should be moved to other stations where conditions are more tolerable, and that, as far as practicable, boys would not be kept in an area such as this beyond the period of a year.

This does not mean that the boys in any numbers are likely to come home and this was not the thought expressed by the boys, but simply a desire to move to some area that would perhaps afford more activity or be more in accordance with some of the conditions to which they were accustomed.

The other spot where a problem of morale was faced was in India, where the boys were rather remote from the scene of Japanese activity and were not particularly clear as to why they were there.

While the living conditions were all that could be expected and the Red Cross "Dugout," as it was called, was a most admirable institution, the boys did not have a strong and present sense of their contribution to the war effort and were somewhat immersed in the lethargy of India and their thoughts would naturally turn to home.

It is to be hoped that the coming of Lord Mountbatten, as commander in chief of this area, may breathe some of his abundant vitality into this area and give the boys a new lease on the realities.

Here the Committee members held two forums with the boys on their problems during two successive evenings and developed very interesting reactions as to their attitude toward the postwar problems and America's relation to the world. The boys did not conceal their desire to return home, but also recognized the expanding responsibilities of America.

Our Overseas Leadership

With the leadership of our service overseas, the Committee were all much impressed. The caliber of the commanders is of the highest and any failures on the part of any subordinate officers are apparently certain to receive the most instant attention. There came to our notice instances in which changes had been very promptly made as the necessity was found. This is, of course, the test of whether any machine is functioning as it should.

Incompetency or inefficiency is treated with the utmost rigor, as should be the case in time of war. No consideration appears to affect the operation other than the successful prosecution of the war and the welfare of the personnel involved. Mistakes are bound to occur, but they receive prompt attention and correction and are not likely to recur.

Operations were in progress in the Mediterranean during our visit and tremendous reserves of both men and materiel were evident on every hand, and the results of their activities have become increasingly evident as the weeks passed. The visit to the various ports in North Africa, where supplies are being brought in and stores accumulated, brought home with most impressive force the stupendous requirements in transport of modern mechanized war.

When one moves from the marvelous ports and facilities developed in New York and other ports along the Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf Coasts and realize that at the other end of the line in Africa or Asia or the South Pacific there are no comparable facilities to handle this enormous quantity of cargo, one can grasp something of the miracles that have been performed in unloading these ships in record time and classifying and storing the materiel involved for the various units that may require to be serviced. Too high praise cannot be accorded those responsible for these operations. Without their successful

and efficient functioning, with the constant necessity of improvisation, the whole military effort would bog down.

Particularly impressive was the work being done in the Persian Gulf, where so much of the materiel must be landed for the supply of the Russian front. Here, under climatic conditions that are simply indescribable, American boys are carrying on under the inspiring leadership of Maj. Gen. Donald H. Connolly and materiel of all kinds is being unloaded and dispatched with incredible rapidity. While we were there the temperature ranged around 150 degrees above zero on the airports where much of these operations must be carried on, and this is apparently typical for the region during the greater portion of the year.

The most impressive lesson of the trip is the revolution in the world brought about by air transport. Hopping the "hump" of the Himalayas at 22,000 feet between two layers of clouds, we had opportunity to ponder the implications of air transport by which alone China can now be served.

Going north to the Arctic Circle and south nearly to the Antarctic Circle, our trip covered approximately forty-five thousand miles within nine days of flying time. This would mean that, flying straight around the earth at the Equator, the trip could have been completed in the plane assigned to us by General Marshall in approximately five days. Planes are, however, rapidly coming into production for transport purposes that would make the trip in three days with appropriate relays.

Of what lies just beyond upon the rising horizon of the World of Tomorrow, it is hardly safe to speak as one contemplates the implications of these modern marvels in their impact on our lives.

America has built and is operating hundreds of airfields all around the world, costing hundreds of millions of American dollars. We have no right of access at the present time to any of these airports built by our money outside the Western Hemisphere, six months after the war comes to an end. This seems to be a situation that invites early attention in view of the certain significance of air transport in the world that is to be.

Sea power has hitherto been the only means of stabilizing conditions around the globe. The lessons of this war make it entirely evident that air power has now come as a supplement to sea power and that the future peace of the world must depend in substantial measure upon aggressor nations not being able to develop air power that shall once again threaten peace-loving peoples. The ultimate winning of the war by the United Nations does not seem to any of us to be a matter that admits to doubt. Whether or not we shall win the peace is quite another matter, and, by the winning of the peace, we mean the keeping of the peace, as that is the ideal that liberty-loving Americans have most definitely in mind.

Keeping the Peace

America is primarily concerned with the keeping of the peace. Twice within our own generation we have been plunged into these world-wide wars without provocation upon our part or any assertion of selfish ambition to invite such a holocaust.

Our sons are now paying the price of our fond but delusive hope that aggressors would not again threaten our security. At Pearl Harbor, we learned our hope was vain.

In the fires of this new sacrifice, our resolve is being hardened that aggressor nations shall not again be able to threaten the peace of all the world.

Every lesson of every war theater where we visited brings home the profound fact that no nation will ever again dare to array itself against the world without adequate aerial preparation.

This means the factories to produce planes and the facilities and personnel for them to function.

The world has long recognized the intimate connection between sea power and the merchant marine. The relationship is far more intimate between military and commercial aviation. The production facilities are far more readily convertible than in the case of marine construction, and the speed of the transition corresponds to the speed of the plane.

The bomber plants of today are the transport plane plants of tomorrow—and the reverse will also be the case.

America must realize the implications of these lessons before it is too late.

The British Example

Considerable consternation has been expressed at the strong and unanimous report of the five members of our senatorial Committee concerning the future of America in the air. The language of our unanimous report to the Senate and the country upon this point is as follows:

“The United States has constructed huge airfields all over the world at tremendous cost to our people. The use of some of these fields in the future may be just as essential to our security as battleships or divisions. We have no postwar rights of access to these fields outside the Western Hemisphere at the present time. These rights of access are also indispensable to the vitally important growth of commercial aviation.”

The surprise which has been expressed on both sides of the Atlantic at our conclusions on this score are extremely revealing as to the lack of realization in the United States as to what is here involved.

This situation was first brought to my attention in December, 1942, as a result of heated debates upon the subject in the British Parliament. In these discussions very great concern was expressed as to the position of America and as to the necessity of Britain taking action to insure her position in commercial aeronautics in the postwar world. Assurance was given that the matter was being carefully considered and explored, and accumulating evidence is at hand as to the customary thoroughness with which the British have approached this global problem.

Their consideration culminated in the holding of an Empire conference this past month in London at which their program for meeting this situation was carefully considered and the announcements at the conclusion indicated that agreement had been reached regarding the part which all parts of the British Empire would play in developing postwar commercial aviation.

Certainly it is proper that America should similarly give attention to the determination of its policy in order that our people may be fully informed and that Congress, in collaboration with the Administration, may determine the form of our policy in this highly important field.

Some current discussions in the press have proceeded upon the hypothesis that the only question involved was that of military air bases. This is very far from being the case. As has been pointed out, the problems of military aviation will undoubtedly be worked out in conjunction with the others concerned in the United Nations and appropriate decisions reached regarding the allocation of responsibility in the keeping of the peace and the use of the various facilities that are necessarily involved in the girdling of the globe.

This, however, is very far from reaching the root of the problem, since military aviation and expansion must necessarily progress with a commercial base.

The facilities to build planes in a constantly evolving art, with almost undreamed-of possibilities in the decades immediately ahead, must rest in substantial measure upon the progress and development of commercial aviation.

In this field, America has a tremendous start as a result of the extent to which commercial air travel had developed before the war. In the field of transoceanic aviation, one American company had been a leader in the world with operating rights in more than sixty foreign countries and coping successfully with the keen competition of the far more closely supported governmental monopolies of overseas airlines in other countries.

Britain is continuing the policy of monopoly in overseas aviation, with the great British Overseas Airways amply financed from Government funds and placing at its head one of the ablest administrators and keenest minds in the British Empire in the person of Lord Knollys—formerly Governor of Bermuda and now devoting his great talents to the future of Britain in commercial aviation around the world.

American Policy

Since when is it treason for America to take thought as to its position in this field? Is it improper or un-American to suggest that the hundreds of millions of dollars invested by America in airfields in all parts of the world may perhaps be permitted to serve in some measure the interests of America in the air argosies of peace?

This, at any rate, is the very gentle suggestion of the senatorial Committee that has just returned from a trip around the world. Their position is not likely to be altered by abuse or ridicule or by anything other than persuasive arguments as to why America should abandon its position in the production and operation of planes in commercial overseas air transport in the postwar world.

Aeronautics must inevitably be an instrument of national policy. If America is to maintain an interest in the affairs of the world, America must be able in the field of communications and transportation to sit at least as an equal at the table of the nations.

Every day of delay in approaching this problem increases the hazards that American interests will suffer in the years that are to come.

When this subject was first mentioned by the senatorial Committee, and also the matter of the more equitable distribution of the burden of supplying petroleum for the prosecution of the war, there was considerable consternation expressed on both sides of the Atlantic as to the very surprising character of our proposal.

On Monday, Oct. 11, 1943, there appeared in the New

York Times a dispatch from the New York Times correspondent in London, with every indication of being officially inspired, stating that the only reason that America had not received rights of access to the airfields constructed around the world was because America had not thus far asked for these rights, and, if increased quantities of petroleum were not being received from British or other sources, it was because increased quantities had not been asked for. It would seem imperative that as promptly as possible this failure to request rights should be remedied.

Because of its significance in the current discussion, there is included here the dispatch referred to from the New York Times of Oct. 11, 1943:

"Outwardly Britain's reaction to the ex parte testimony of the five itinerant United States Senators has been polite, moderate and misleading. But, while officials are not saying much about it publicly, privately they make it clear that they resent the more violent criticism, fear the whole recent trend toward economic nationalism in the United States and do not see why this particular time—just before the tri-power conference—was chosen to demonstrate differences between the United States and Britain.

"Resentment on the part of British officials available to this correspondent is based on the salient assumption by the Senators that the United States had asked for more oil from Persia and this had been refused; that we had asked for unlimited use of air bases we have built on British territory and this had been refused, and had requested the right to establish bases after the war on British territory and had been turned down.

"But, so far as one can discover in this capital, none of these things has happened. Mr. Churchill was not simply being rhetorical when he said that he did not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the dissolution of the British Empire. At the same time there is not only very little basis for charging the British with holding out on us, but there is good reason for saying that if the United States ever makes it unmistakably clear that it is prepared to take its place in establishing a real world authority in collaboration with Great Britain and Russia there is not a single base in the British Empire from Scapa Flow to Singapore that will not be open to us."

The Berle Committee

An interdepartmental committee to consider postwar aviation policy was created sometime since under the chairmanship of Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and has since been functioning. It is understood a report has been prepared and placed in the hands of the Secretary of State for the President.

Meanwhile, the Committee on Commerce of the Senate has created a subcommittee under the chairmanship of Senator Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri and hearings have been held and are continuing to explore this situation.

The House of Representatives is also giving consideration to this problem through the medium of a subcommittee of the House Committee on Interstate Commerce.

It seems obvious that legislative action will be required for the implementation of such policy regarding American overseas aviation as is finally agreed upon and for the appropriations which may be required.

Here is one of the most pressing fields for the determination of American foreign policy and one that brooks no delay.

If the observations of our Committee in our trip around the world and the reports which we have made on our return result in expediting consideration of this matter, the trip will have been abundantly worthwhile. Meanwhile, it may be well to suggest to our critics that they direct attention to the substance of our suggestions and our comments rather than to the questioning of our motives. The American people are perfectly capable of determining the issues in this matter if they can be presented with the facts, and the seeking and securing of the facts, the determination of policy, is the only object of present legislative consideration.

As promptly as possible, Senator Mead and I will make available to the Truman Committee, and, presumably, then to the subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce whatever facts we have been able to develop in our observations and conferences, and, with that legislative committee of the Senate, will rest the consideration of the policy that is involved so far as the Senate is concerned.

Petroleum Supplies

Somewhat the same situation presents itself in considering petroleum supplies. The Committee of five Senators referred to this in their summary report as follows:

"A great deal more oil should be provided from the deposits of the Middle East. Existing sources of crude rubber in the Orient, now held by the United Nations, could be increased. Too much American gasoline is made available to civilians in North Africa."

Here considerable sensitivity seems to have developed. Certainly the statement is as moderate in tone as anyone could desire, but it has invited seemingly both explanation and exhortation.

Let us first be very clear that a modern army moves on petroleum. Over 50 per cent of the supplies for the African invasion were petroleum products.

This means that petroleum may determine the issue of the war—and of any future wars.

Germany has long dreamed of the route from Berlin to Bagdad as the axis that might control the world. The German plunge for the oil fields of Russia very plainly told the tale of what was their greatest need.

Current comment on the prospect that United States oil reserves are only sufficient to supply us for twelve to fifteen years at the present rate of consumption do not seem to occasion particular concern.

Other countries are far more prudent in husbanding their petroleum reserves.

While Britain has oil reserves at least equal to the United States, the British reserves at the present rate of consumption will last one hundred years.

Only 8 per cent of the oil consumption of the United Nations is at present coming from British sources, while

nearly 80 per cent is coming from United States reserves.

In addition, the largest supply from any country outside the United States comes from a country bordering on the Caribbean where 80 per cent of the reserves are owned by an American corporation and a 30 per cent increase in production is contemplated for this area this coming year, while practically no increase in production is contemplated for the great British reserves in the Persian Gulf.

Consideration of this situation is imperatively required if America is to be able to face the world on an equality at the end of the next decade.

No product is more vital to national defense than petroleum and the United States must rapidly move to preserve so far as practicable its rapidly diminishing reserves.

Here, again, challenge has been raised as to the wisdom or propriety of legislative inquiry in this field. Certainly the American people are entitled to facts that so vitally concern their welfare.

Without gasoline, all the planes and tanks and trucks of the modern war machine are completely paralyzed. Without petroleum, a modern navy cannot move a mile.

A gallon of gasoline will carry a modern bomber or transport plane approximately a mile. This constitutes an impressive demonstration of the power hidden in this colorless fluid.

But conceive of our military and naval and air forces cut off from petroleum. We talk about maintenance of our military might after the war is ended in order to preserve the peace.

Yet every movement of that military machine upon the chess table of international affairs must be conditioned by adequate supplies of petroleum.

Before another generation comes on the stage, America will be a mendicant for petroleum at the council tables of the world. This generation must then bear the responsibility for dissipating this most precious heritage.

Equitable distribution of available supplies to meet the military needs of the United Nations is all that is desired. Is this treason?

In any event, these questions will continue to be pressed before the proper authorities and reports on the situation will in due course be forthcoming.

Lend-Lease

The operation of Lend-Lease and of Lend-Lease in reverse seems also an appropriate subject of legislative inquiry. Billions have been provided in this field and distributed with a prodigal hand.

Certainly the recipients cannot object if those who must pay for the bounty shall have some idea of its nature and extent.

Question was raised in Australia as to how much it could be possible for Australia to do this coming year in reverse Lend-Lease. In the discussion of this matter it seemed clear to all that proper inquiry might well be made as to the extent to which the economy of Australia could contribute to the war effort.

While Lend-Lease was conceived primarily from the standpoint of contributing without delay or hesitation to nations in their most critical hour, it now becomes necessary as time passes to examine somewhat the equities that are involved and the relative possibilities in the

various countries for supplying the needs of the United Nations in the prosecution of the war.

Various aspects of this matter came to our attention during our trip and are being explored with the various authorities concerned.

The rather resolute resistance to the idea of any accounting for Lend-Lease in reverse on the ground of its impracticability and perhaps undesirability did not impress one at first blush as well founded.

The importance of a possible accounting became more significant as we found places where there was an impression abroad that Lend-Lease and Lend-Lease in reverse were approximately in balance. In some instances this seemed to have a somewhat official origin although it was widely at variance with the facts.

Balancing accounts is certainly not one of the primary considerations at this time, but it is of importance that there shall not be erroneous impressions abroad to complicate the postwar situation. It is also important that accounts shall not become so tangled that no proper understanding can ever be obtained as to just what happened.

Conclusion

Much, if not most, of what we found was good. The military, naval and air forces of America are magnificent and all their component parts.

The procurement program is now functioning with increasing efficiency, although many precious months were lost in the failure to adopt at the start the well-developed plan for industrial mobilization that was a result of the studies of twenty years since the last war and was revised and approved as late as 1937 by Louis Johnson as Assistant Secretary of War.

Co-operation of the various services of the United Nations is proceeding excellently. Whatever defects exist in our own civilian organization behind the fighting fronts invites the most careful and immediate exploration and is a matter of primarily American concern into which it would be well for interests outside our country not to venture.

America has a right and duty to consider problems of its own civilian personnel and policies without outside interference and this will become increasingly apparent as time goes on.

The statement of Senator Truman on July 4, 1943, is as follows:

The Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program was charged by the Senate with the duty of checking on all phases of war production, for the purpose of making certain that we get to the fighting fronts as soon and as economically as possible the weapons, supplies and facilities needed by our armed forces.

The Congress has a clear duty, for which the people will hold it responsible, to see that results are obtained from the billions of dollars appropriated for the war effort.

To fulfill these obligations, the Committee has conducted numerous investigations in this country. Much time and effort were expended by its individual members, outside of their other duties as Senators, in holding interviews, conferences with officials representing industry, labor and governmental agencies and hearings, both public and private, and in making on-the-ground inspection of plants. Much valuable evidence has been accumulated in this way, and forms the basis for many of the reports which have been filed with the Senate.

The Committee is gratified that its efforts and achievements have been accepted by the public as beneficial to the effective prosecution of the war.



This work will be continued but the Committee believes that it is not enough just to follow the goods to the Country's borders. There must also be assurance that such goods reach the fighting fronts quickly and in good condition, and that they are, in fact, what the fighting forces have asked for and need. Also there must be assurance that the vast sums which are being expended abroad for airfields, harbor and rail facilities and the like are economically spent to the end that the initial cost be kept to a minimum and that this country obtain therefrom the maximum possible postwar benefit and international good will.

Senator James M. Mead of New York and Senator Ralph O. Brewster of Maine are going abroad with a group of other Senators during the period when Congress expects to be in recess and most of its members are enjoying the first chance in several years to attend to their personal affairs. The Committee has directed Senators Mead and Brewster to obtain information—and, upon their return, to report to the Committee—on the foreign aspects of the various questions which have been the subject of study by the Committee, including particularly:

1. Transportation and supply by sea, air, highway and rail;
2. Landing facilities in foreign areas developed by the United States and the rights of this country in those facilities now and in the postwar period;
3. Administrative activities in foreign fields outside military lines and particularly any confusion of function thereto;
4. Arrangements for the distribution of American supplies among civilian populations;
5. Quality and condition of repair and replacement parts, including engines received from the United States, and quantity or percentage found unusable by reason of faulty manufacture;
6. The function of the Office of War Information.

It is especially important that the Congress acquaint itself now with the arrangements which are being made abroad in the name of the United States by the numerous representatives of the many special agencies authorized to expend funds and to distribute American property. The time to correct mistakes is at their inception. The time to obtain equitable settlements of our postwar rights to use airfields and other properties built and paid for by us is now. We must do our utmost to win the war speedily and also to contribute our full share to a postwar atmosphere that will be conducive to an enduring peace. The Committee desires to make certain that proper attention is being given to these matters by those charged with the responsibility for them.

The Committee has no jurisdiction over military strategy or tactics and has never addressed inquiries into this field. This practice will be continued.

Upon their return they will render a full report to the Committee as to the facts ascertained by them.

Senator Mead on July 26, 1943, made the following statements:

Senator Mead declared that he and Senator Brewster had completed their preliminary studies in advance of their leaving for an inspection of American facilities abroad.

Senator Mead said that he and Senator Brewster, the two members of the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program who will go abroad with a group of other Senators during the congressional recess, had made an extended investigation to obtain background information on the subjects which the Committee directed them to study abroad.

These include:

1. Transportation and supply by sea, air, highway and rail;
2. Landing facilities for airplanes in foreign areas developed by the United States and the rights of this Country in those facilities now and in the postwar period;
3. Administrative activities in foreign fields (not relating to military strategy), and particularly any confusion of functions.

4. Arrangements for the distribution of American supplies among civilian populations;

5. The Committee also instructed the Senators to obtain assurance that the goods which are now being produced in an ever-increasing flow reach the fighting fronts quickly and in good condition and are what the fighting forces asked for and need.

"The Committee has been collecting and studying data along these lines for many months," Senator Mead said, "and in recent weeks Senator Brewster and I have conferred with officials of the State Department, the Army, the Navy, Lend-Lease Administration, the Office of Economic Warfare, the Office of War Information and other agencies for the purpose of obtaining information about activities and conditions abroad. We have also conferred at length with Governor Herbert Lehman, Director of Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations. The conferences have indicated that much can be accomplished by integrating and correlating the activities of the various agencies in each foreign field.

"The Truman Committee understands the need for solidarity among the United Nations at the present time as well as after the war has been won. Although many of the details concerning distribution of goods abroad and arrangements for postwar activities are not now pertinent to the conduct of the war by the United Nations, responsible agencies must now be mastering these details so that we will be ready to cope with the intricate problems that are already in the making and which must be solved after the war has ended.

"The Congress will have great responsibility at that time. Now is the time for the Congress to obtain this information. This must be accomplished thoroughly and diplomatically with no relaxation of effort. The functions to be performed abroad, therefore, are expected to be difficult. It is our intention to perform them in a spirit of co-operation with the American forces and the executive departments. Our interviews and conferences to date have been marked by the splendid and wholehearted co-operation of all persons from whom we have sought information and assistance.

"We hope that the study and analysis of conditions abroad by our Committee will result in improvements and efficiencies in the administration of activities abroad.

"It is our desire to work now for the lasting benefits which all nations must derive from the holocaust of pain, bloodshed and sacrifice in which we are now enveloped. We must always remember that the American contribution in men, in goods, and in diplomacy is intended to bring into reality throughout the world the Four Freedoms and the principles of the Atlantic Charter. These things will not just happen. Careful planning and hard work alone can make them possible.

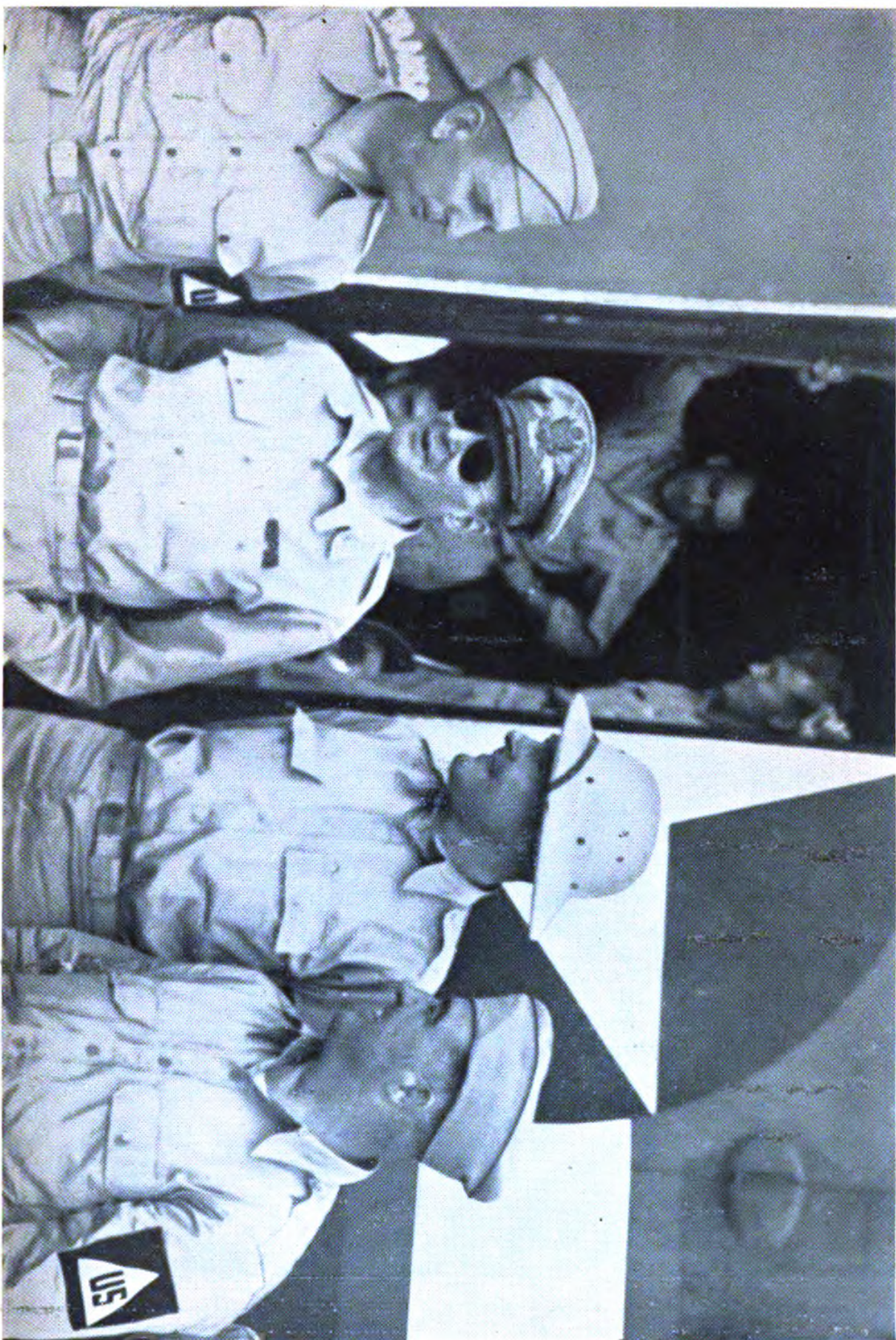
"Throughout its existence, the Truman Committee has been striving toward these ends. As Senator Truman said in his announcement on the subject, 'The Committee believes that it is not enough to just follow the goods to the Country's borders.

"It is especially important that the Congress acquaint itself now with the arrangements which are being made abroad in the name of the United States by numerous representatives of the many special agencies authorized to expend funds, and to distribute American goods and material. The time to correct mistakes is at their inception. The time to obtain equitable settlements of our postwar rights to use airfields and other properties built and paid for by us is now. The Committee desires to make certain that proper attention is being given to these matters by those charged with the responsibility for them.'

"The work which Senator Brewster and I expect to carry on abroad," said Senator Mead, "is simply a phase of the extended investigations along these lines conducted by the Truman Committee for the purpose of informing the Senate of the facts."

NOTE: In addition to the places visited by the entire party, Senator Brewster visited Palestine.

THE SENATORS TALK WAR WITH GENERAL MACARTHUR



Senator Russell, General MacArthur, Senators Lodge and Chandler as they appeared at their meeting with the General at his headquarters in New Guinea. (Senators Brewster and Mead also were present)

—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

THE FIVE SENATORS AT A CHINESE INFANTRY SCHOOL



—International News Photo

The Senators are shown viewing a class of Chinese soldier students being trained in telegraph work



International News Photo

Here the Senators with General Stilwell (wearing campaign hat) watch a class of Chinese infantrymen being trained in modern tactics by American officers

Senator Chandler:

The Senate Military Affairs Committee has a tremendous responsibility to the people of the United States. This Committee is composed of eleven Democrats and seven Republicans and has, since the start of the war, felt that it was obligated by duty to the people of the United States to get firsthand information with respect to the operation of our military establishments. For that purpose and in order to more effectively co-operate with the Army, Chairman Robert R. Reynolds, North Carolina, with the approval of the Committee, appointed a subcommittee for the specific purpose of visiting and reporting to the Committee the condition of our military establishments in continental United States and in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. I had the honor to be named Chairman of that subcommittee.

Since the formation of the subcommittee, inspections have been made and reports filed with the full Committee. These reports have been mostly confidential in nature and many troublesome problems have been submitted through the Committee to the proper governmental departments or military commands and many errors have been corrected as a result of these reports.

The report on Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, dated Sept. 1, 1942, was submitted directly to the Military Affairs Committee and then to the President of the United States. At his direction that report was sent to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. There is every reason to believe that much closer attention was given to that area by the high command after the filing of that report.

The people of America will remember that the presence of the Japanese at Attu and Kiska was greatly minimized in some quarters. The presence of the enemy in the Aleutian Islands has constituted a direct threat and menace to the continental United States and it was highly important to all of our people that the Japs be removed from the Aleutians at the earliest possible moment. Since our success in getting them out, the Hawaiian Islands in mid-Pacific has become a great offensive base for operations against the Japanese. As long as the Japanese occupied Kiska and Attu we were forced to use the Hawaiian Islands as a defensive base.

After the subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs had virtually completed its inspections of military establishments in the area of the continental United States, it was considered wise by the Committee to have certain of its members visit the Army overseas wherever the military situation permitted, it being understood, of course, that the Committee would not interfere in any way with military operations. Pursuant to the understanding of the members of the Committee of the desirability of this course of action, Chairman Reynolds appointed Senators Lodge and Chandler as members of this inspection committee representing the Committee on Military Affairs. This action was later generally acquiesced in by the Senate.

The Senate Committee named to make the overseas inspection tour and consisting of Senator Russell of Georgia, Chairman; Senator Brewster of Maine, Senator Mead of New York, Senator Henry C. Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, and me, left the National Airport in Washington on the afternoon of July 25, 1943, in a four-

motored converted Liberator named "The Guess Where 2," and called by the Army a C-87. Major Henry Myers of Tifton, Georgia, was at the controls and officers and crew members as follows:

Brig. Gen. George F. Schulgen, command pilot, in charge of the trip

Brig. Gen. Fred W. Rankin, assistant surgeon general

Lieut. Elmer F. Smith, Air Corps, copilot

Capt. Theodore J. Boselli, Air Corps, navigator

Capt. Stephen F. Leo, office of the chief of staff

Master Sergeant Frederick A. Winslow, crew chief

Master Sergeant Charles A. Horton, radio operator

Sixty-three days later, after visiting Newfoundland, Labrador, Iceland, the United Kingdom, North Africa, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, India, China, Ceylon and Australia, and the islands of the Pacific, including New Guinea and other fighting fronts, we landed at Long Beach, Calif.

No one could make such a tour without being deeply impressed with the magnitude of the problems we confront.

Purposes of Tour

There was immediate controversy over the proposed inspection tour by some members of the Senate and by some of the people and a section of the press of the country. It was asserted that the Senators would not see anything of value and that such a trip would be a mere junket or an expedition of pleasure. It is my opinion that it was real evidence of democracy at work. It is a good thing for members of the legislative body to visit the fighting fronts personally, not because its members wish to criticize strategy or to spy on those who are entrusted with getting the job done, but to show the boys that the men who vote for recognition of a state of war and who vote taxes for the support of the war and who are to vote for the peace after the war are trying to walk as closely with them as circumstances will allow.

The trip indicated to the soldiers that the Senate wanted to see for itself just how dearly the peace of tomorrow is being bought. A casualty list, if your own son is not on it, is an abstract thing, but the sight of severely wounded men, the hardships of the front lines in deserts, jungles and mountains, the tenseness of the men who expect air raids momentarily—even the thousand-foot stare of a soldier in a ten-foot room of men too long in military areas—are things that must be tasted in order to be appreciated.

No member of this Committee believes that, having made this round-the-world tour of inspection, he is either a military expert or an expert on foreign affairs, but he does believe that, having talked with officials of governments, together with most of the high-ranking generals and admirals of the world, and having visited with the private soldier of the Army of the United States in his tent, in the mess halls and in the USO and Red Cross meetings, in jungle and in desert, he has got a better idea of the true conditions of the American soldier and of the

fine, gallant fight that he is making again for the freedom of the world.

This is one world, and we are a part of it. Anything that affects the world for good or ill will in the future affect us either for good or adversely.

The American people have certain definite aims in this war—a war not of our making and one that we earnestly sought to avoid. These aims are:

1. To bring about the defeat of our enemies at the earliest possible moment, at the cost of as few American lives as possible.
2. To establish a just and realistic peace that will prevent a recurrence of this terrible war in another generation.

The most serious problem confronting the world at this time is how to prevent war, and it is fairly certain that, unless some answer can be found by the world to this important question, our civilization may one day be wholly destroyed.

"To solve this great problem will require the concentrated effort of all the great nations in concert, and, if this is to be forthcoming, it will be necessary for them to understand that the solution of this problem is the supreme need of civilized mankind," Viscount Grey once said.

Many decisions must be made by the American Government with respect to the conduct of the war in the future, with respect to the rights and interests of the American people with foreign governments and with respect to our agreements for peace when the war is ended. These decisions not only have a tremendous bearing on the present, but upon such just and correct decisions as are made will depend the lives of men not only here but in nearly every quarter of the globe.

America must use its full weight and might to protect the peace of the world in the future. No nation can live in the world of tomorrow unless it is prepared to use its strength to thwart the moves of aggressor nations. America must belong to a world order which subscribes to the idea that force should be used if necessary in order to insure the peace of the world.

We must co-operate with our allies, but we must do it upon a realistic basis and we should have understandings with them now and not wait until the war is over.

Major Causes for War

There seem to me to be three major causes for war: congested population, lack of raw materials and the desire for markets. All of these bring economic repercussions, with a resulting restlessness and nervous tension among the people, and, finally, in the emergence of a leader and the start of a war, usually after unjust demands upon neighbors for some area, some raw material or greater access to markets.

Japan started her attack on China because she needed more room for her people and more raw materials. Germany asserted a need for raw materials and markets. There are only two ways open for nations to achieve their ambitions—diplomacy or war. The Axis nations chose war. Japan now has under her control more than 300,000,000 people and an unlimited supply of raw materials. She is probably the best-equipped nation in the world today from the standpoint of an adequate supply of raw

materials. All she needs to make herself entirely self-sufficient and perhaps impregnable is a little more time, which at present we are giving her.

Diplomacy is being used today by the Allied nations in dealing with each other. There is a quiet, undercover diplomatic war going on between the Allies for the control of international trade following the termination of the war. A review of the history of the events which followed the last World War will prove conclusively that we never realized the importance of this factor, and were not prepared as were some of our allies to pick up trade at the close of the war.

This time our negotiations have consisted of provisions for a termination of our right to the use of air bases and harbors that we have constructed and improved at such a tremendous cost to the American people. The arrangements are for our friendly allies to move in behind our troops and re-establish control of vital commercial areas immediately after the danger of bombing becomes remote. It has some of the earmarks of relatives reading the will before the body gets cold.

History records that Germany and other nations not successful in the diplomatic field have resorted to war to attain their aims. Our allies, however, and I include the British, French and Russians, are to be congratulated upon the very deep interest that they take in the welfare of their own people and the long-range safeguards which they build up to protect their territory and future trade. They have had long experience in world trade and they know what world trade means in the economic welfare of a nation.

They expect us to make the necessities of our country known to them and they expect us to undertake now to establish some basis for permanent agreement among the Allies. If we fail in this and allow them to believe that we do not want to maintain our defenses in the strategic areas necessary to protect our commitments, that we do not expect permanent rights to land planes on the airfields and refuel our merchant marine in the harbors which we have constructed and improved at a tremendous cost to the American people, and that we do not expect equal rights in trade in the Pacific area which we are committed to protect, then we will again deserve just what we received from World War I and what we are well on the way to receiving from World War II.

It is not too late to explain to our allies exactly what rights we must have in the areas that we are committed to protect and what rights we expect in the areas where we are putting up billions of dollars of our taxpayers' money in cash, in equipment and in services to improve. We should have these understandings now, not after the war is won.

Mr. Churchill is a strong and brilliant representative of the British Empire, but he is realistic. In a speech at a dinner for the Lord Mayor of London on November 10 last, just after the battle of Egypt, Mr. Churchill said: "Let me, however, make this clear in case there should be any mistake about it in any quarter. We mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire: for that task, if ever it were prescribed, someone else would have to be found and under a democracy I suppose the nation would have to be consulted."

This statement was made just after the Prime Minister had asserted that Britain had no acquisitive designs in

North Africa or in any other part of the world, but at Cambridge, Mass., on September 6 last, Mr. Churchill said: "We must not let go of the security we have found necessary to preserve our lives and property until we are quite sure that we have something else to put in their places which would give us an equally solid guarantee."

Mr. Churchill speaks for Great Britain—his aims and his country's aims are clear.

Mr. Churchill has expressed himself forcibly on his policy of holding the British Empire intact with all of its far-flung possessions regardless of any changed world conditions. One of Mr. Churchill's strongest holds on the British people today is based on concessions that he gets from America. It will be remembered that, upon his first appearance before Parliament following our decision actively to support England, and at a time when his position as Prime Minister was seriously threatened, his words to the Commons were: "Gentlemen, I give you America."

Relations With Our Allies

Mr. Churchill suggested to the Committee, during our visit at 10 Downing Street, the possibilities of dual citizenship between our two countries. American statesmen and officials of the Government should deal realistically with Mr. Churchill. He is a realistic man.

Russia implies through semiofficial organizations and newspapers in that country that she has not expended millions of lives, and such wealth and equipment as she has, in order to turn back to other nations conquered areas that she considers necessary to her safety and economic well-being.

I hope President Roosevelt will say for the United States that we have not committed this nation to the protection of the Americas in the Pacific area through the Monroe Doctrine and the policy in the Philippines, and have expended thousands of American lives and billions of dollars of Lend-Lease funds in the Allied cause in order to again withdraw from the strategic defense areas, thereby sacrificing the future economic well-being of this nation.

Immediately the cry will go up from all quarters that the Americans have adopted an imperialistic attitude. There is an answer to that charge. The policy of the American Government has been in the past to take and abandon. That is, to take territory in our necessary or apparently necessary self-defense or in the defense of our allies and to have our boys killed in the taking, and then to abandon the territory when the trouble is over.

When trouble recurs, of course, more American boys lose their lives in retaking the same territory.

We must talk plainly to our allies now. We must have them realize that we have adopted a realistic policy in our dealings with them. They will understand plain talk—in fact, they expect it from us. In some quarters of this country it has got so that you cannot speak for your own country without being accused of being anti-someone else. If any considerable part of our people believe this, we are indeed on a very dangerous road.

The American people can understand plain talk. They should be told the plain unvarnished truth about the war, including its present status. They should be told how our whole economic future may be vitally affected by a lack of control over the areas which we are committed to defend.

The American soldier, especially the doughboy, is doing a magnificent job on every one of the fighting fronts. The American men and women have again demonstrated to the world what magnificent equipment and arms we can produce. Our boys are fighting in the frozen North, in places like Attu and the Aleutian Islands, and in the swamps of the tropics near the equator, where conditions are admittedly the worst in the world. Our casualties will be higher from malaria than from Japanese bullets. Loss of our supply of quinine to the Japs has made it necessary that our boys take atabrine, a substitute. Atabrine is not, however, a preventive, it is a suppressive.

The hardships of jungle fighting are real, and many of our lads in the Southwest Pacific are carrying an almost intolerable burden. That is another urgent reason for some emphasis being put on the war in the Pacific area—more equipment, more planes and more guns, so that the burden of our men out there will not be heavier than they can bear.

We have a well-trained Army, well-staffed, and, if furnished adequate materials, they can finish the job in a reasonable time.

Our reports have not been critical; they have been just and temperate and have been calculated always to help solve the problems involved without either advertising or magnifying faults and shortcomings. Criticism of public officials as well as criticism of the military command, if indulged in, should be just and temperate. Some of the criticisms made of the work of this Committee have been neither. I believe all the inspections made by the Committee will prove beneficial.

There are two things of first importance that must be considered by our people now:

1. We must continue the present effort to prosecute the war vigorously by providing the necessary men and materials in order to achieve victory.
2. We must lay the groundwork for a long-range peace and economic well-being.

Lessons of Last War

We should profit by the failures of the last war. All the Americas, 21 nations and over 250,000,000 people, and the Pacific area, with its more than 400,000,000 people around the western rim, are within our national sphere of influence. It has been demonstrated by the war that the commitments that this nation already has made in various treaties, including the Monroe Doctrine, have committed us to defense of this area.

It is also generally agreed among Army and Navy military strategists that it is necessary for us to defend this area in order to be certain that we can ultimately defend continental United States. To do this successfully, and in order that this nation take its proper place in the economic postwar picture, three things are vitally necessary:

1. Maintenance of our defenses in the strategic area which our military strategists have found to be necessary in the defense of this country in line with our commitments.
2. Permanent rights to the use of the airfields and harbors for our air transportation and merchant marine which we have constructed and improved at great expense to the people of this country.
3. Equal rights to the trade in this area with any other country.

It is inconceivable that any objection could be raised to our right to maintain the necessary defenses in these strategic areas in the Pacific area to meet our commitments. Failure to fortify Guam is a tragic instance of the futility of trying to hold island bases without adequate defenses. We must insist upon a change of our entire setup in the Pacific. There must never be another Bataan or Corregidor. It is a futile and ghastly gesture to attempt to defend an area without adequate defenses and an unnecessary sacrifice of American lives.

Equal permanent rights to the use of transportation bases and to trade within the area should merely be the result of common courtesy and fair play in an area that we are committed to protect—and have protected from Japanese invasion and have improved at great expense to our people.

The American people saved the continent of Australia from being overrun by the Japanese. It would be foolish for us not to insist upon a well-anchored and well-protected supply line to Australia in the future.

Mandated Areas

After the last war and in the negotiations for peace, certain nations were given mandates over islands and areas that formerly belonged to the German nation and her allies. The Japanese were given a mandate over certain islands in the Pacific and they were fortified contrary to agreement and we are now seeking to regain possession of them and losing American lives daily in so doing.

The British and Dutch were given mandates over certain territories. The United States alone did not accept territory as a possession or mandate. As a result, we find our armed forces now not only trying to regain posses-

sion of the islands mandated to the Japanese, but many others which were mandated to other nations unable to defend them when the showdown came.

By reason of these mandates, barriers were put up against our peacetime trade in these areas and we have had slight influence and no control in these areas. Mandate control was understood by us as a synonym for protection. It was never intended or understood by us that virtual ownership would result, but the people forgot, and control, after twenty-seven years, in some cases has ripened into substantial, recognized ownership.

It is entirely within our province to demand such mandate control following this war over the areas that we must in the last analysis defend from any threatening attack and that are rightly within our economic area. We do not want to annex new territories, but mandated control, rightly interpreted, would add up to the right answer. We must exercise such mandates by maintaining the necessary defenses, the equal right with other nations for commercial airplane and merchant marine use of the air bases and harbors constructed and improved by us, and to trade in the area.

The American people are entitled to some return for the more than \$15,500,000,000 already invested in Lend-Lease funds for the aid of England, Russia and France and our other allies. We have already spent more than \$500,000,000 on airfields and equipment all over the world. In most places we have no right except to get out when the war is over. We have constructed these fields and placed these installations on the land belonging to other countries.

It is obvious that this situation must be remedied, as practically all of our bases outside of continental United States are on this basis. We must hold bases in the islands of the ocean which, in possession of hostile nations,



—International News Photo

Senators Chandler, Russell and Brewster photographed at a tea given in honor of the five visiting Senators by high Chinese officials

would constitute a threat and a menace to the people of the United States. Many of these bases have been won by the blood of American soldiers. We gave up our right to these bases after World War I and came home. This time we must keep them. The men who are making the sacrifice want it that way.

To those critics of the Senators who made this round-the-world tour I have this to say. On no occasion, either before the war or since we have become involved in it, have I failed to support the President of the United States or General Marshall in a single request either for money or for authorizations for men or materials. On the contrary, I have earnestly advocated some defense improvements which have not been made.

I believe that a well-informed Congress can be of great value to the President of the United States not only in waging a big war to a successful conclusion, but in providing the foundation for a long-range peace for this nation in co-operation with our allies. This can best be done by forming a positive national policy and announcing that policy in clear and unmistakable terms to the people of our country in the same effective manner as such policies have been and are being proclaimed by England and Russia.

The public is entitled to know what such a policy is and what the sponsors think it will do for this nation. The public is entitled to the opportunity to express its opinion about it. It is my view that many public officials might be surprised at the number of constructive suggestions that would be made. In other words, the policy of the people of the United States must be proclaimed in unmistakable terms. It must be realistic and it must express the views of the American people.

Progress of the War

The British and American air forces in England are doing an outstanding job. The precision-bombing of the American B-17s and Liberators in daylight, directed against important military targets in Germany and on the continent of Europe, has had a devastating effect upon the German military machine. The British night bombing, which sows death and destruction indiscriminately on the cities and towns of Germany, is gradually breaking down the morale of the German people. It is not known by anyone whether this form of war can bring about the surrender of the German people, but it is worth trying, and, as Mr. Churchill said last year, it should be tried, along with all other war measures, to bring about the early defeat of our enemies.

If the defeat of Germany could be accomplished by air power, which some experts do not admit, many American lives would be saved—and one of our chief aims is to save the lives of American boys. Many informed people have expressed the opinion that early invasion across the Channel Coast of the Axis-held fortress of Europe would result in mass murder. It is to be devoutly hoped that no such invasion will be undertaken until the bombing method has been given a fair and full trial.

Under no circumstances should the American high command agree to this invasion if it is proposed that America furnish two-thirds of the ground troops.

In a Senate speech on May 16, just before the strategy conference held in Washington by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr.

Churchill, I suggested that Germany had lost the initiative in the war, and that she could not knock out either Russia or Great Britain in the following summer. I stated that new devices coming into the war against the submarine would reduce the sinkings of our ships during the summer months. I take it that no one now would question the correctness of those assertions.

England and Russia are both safe from knockout blows on the part of the Germans today, and, therefore, just as I stated last spring, the Allies have the choice of major objectives in the war.

The War in the Pacific

The people of America are anxious to have Russia and England commit themselves definitely to assist the United States in the war against Japan when the war in Europe has ended. Although Mr. Churchill has said on specific occasions since last spring that the British must help the Americans fight the Japanese, this is like a cold shower to the British people. Mr. Morrison, the Home Secretary, said recently in a speech in Britain, undertaking to explain the apparent apathy of the British people toward the war against Japan, that "we must remember that the Japs did not bomb London."

From conversations with Mr. Churchill, I am convinced that the British are not enthusiastic about China being strong. Mr. Churchill did not know of any reason why China should have a place at the peace table as an equal partner with Russia, Great Britain and the United States. I am convinced that this is perhaps the real reason why the British have been slow and apparently unenthusiastic about starting an offensive in the India-Burma-China field of operations.

Our situation today in China is perilous, and, while we have asked Russia for bases for use in our fight against the Japanese, it must be remembered that we actually have in our possession operating bases in China. It is of the greatest importance to the people of the United States that these bases be held. They are now being supplied by young American fliers who are making three trips a day over the Himalayas and over the jungles and mountains of Burma. This so-called "Hump" flight along an uncharted course is perhaps the most hazardous flight known to man. This is today the only supply route open to the men of General Stilwell and General Chennault.

We are in grave danger of losing our bases in China, and, if we lose these bases, the war against Japan will be greatly prolonged and the cost to us in American lives will perhaps run into the thousands.

Last spring, I urged that the British make the offensive in the India-Burma-China sector because it was obvious that they were in better position to make it than we were. I said then, however, that, if they did not make it, we would have to make it in our own defense. Practically the whole of the effort that is being made in that sector now is being made under the greatest difficulty by the American forces.

The Chinese Army is not strong nor well-equipped, nor well-trained, although headway has been made in equipping and training the Chinese soldiers. The Chinese people are weary of the war, and, if by starvation or exhaustion they are forced out of the war, it will be a serious setback for us in our war against Japan. If the Japa-

nese make a determined offensive from Indo-China and capture our Kunming base (General Chennault's main base), we are through in China and China is out of the war.

The Japanese make frequent raids on the rice fields of China. These raids are practically always successful. Sometimes, when the Japs go away after these successful raids, the American people hear of a great Chinese victory. They should not get the impression that the Chinese are a powerful military force today. They are doing a grand job defending what they have left of their country under the most difficult and trying circumstances.

Our Aid to Russia

One of the most heartening sights observed by the Committee on the tour was the tremendous amount of war material that is being moved from the United States to the Russian front. Those in charge of moving these supplies under the tremendous heat conditions which exist in that portion of the world are entitled to a great deal of credit. Whereas, not so long ago the Russians were clamoring for more material and equipment; when we were there, our boys were asking the Russians to take the material and equipment off their hands so they could furnish more.

We saw many planes and trucks en route to Russia to help the Russians in their gallant fight against the Germans. It seems, however, that, in consideration of these tremendous supplies, consideration should be given at once, as it should have been long ago, to give the United States bases in Siberia for operations against the Japanese.

Too many American alibis have been advanced for the failure of the British to mount an offensive in the India-Burma-China sector and for the failure of the Russians to give us bases. I feel that this is a great mistake. Of course, we do not want bases that we cannot hold, as they would be of no value to us, but I believe it is important that we have bases in Russia and that we make plans to hold them. It is certainly important that we hold the bases in China that we possess at the moment, and the continued failure of the British to make the India-Burma-China offensive continues to place those bases in jeopardy.

The most pressing problem that confronts the people of the United States today, in my opinion, is the war in the Pacific. Last spring we asked that greater emphasis and more consideration be given to the war in the Pacific by our master strategists. There is no question but that up to that time the Pacific had been treated as secondary and as a holding operation. The Japanese are our toughest enemy. Their strength was greatly underestimated by the American people. They were strong on land, at sea and in the air. Their production of ships and planes has been greatly underestimated.

General MacArthur, in his campaign in the Pacific, is on the offensive, but is limited by supplies and equipment, and needs more support. General MacArthur, according to some of our ablest military leaders, is a great commander. He knows where he is going, and, if he is given material and equipment, he will bring about a victory for us sooner than we would otherwise gain it.

The operation in the Pacific seems to be one operation and should be co-ordinated under one head. MacArthur seems to be the best-qualified man to lead the offensive, and, by his courageous actions and exploits so far, he has

shown himself entitled to the respect and support of the American people.

It will be good news to the American people if the British under Lord Mountbatten really mount an offensive in the India-Burma-China sector. They need have no fear but that such an offensive will receive the unqualified and active support not only of the American Army but of all our people.

In Summary

1. The United States should retain the right, through mandate or otherwise, to maintain the necessary defenses on strategic bases to defend our commitments without the necessity of sacrificing thousands of lives as in Bataan and Corregidor, while building up offensive strength.
2. Permanent and equal commercial rights along with other nations should be obtained to the airfields and harbors that have been constructed and improved at great expense to the American people.
3. Permanent trade rights equal with other nations should be retained in the strategic areas.
4. We should forthwith establish and announce a definite American and foreign policy. Our allies expect it—and our citizens and taxpayers are entitled to it.
5. The Americas, with 21 nations and more than 250,000,000 people, together with the countries on the western rim of the Pacific Ocean—approximately 400,000,000 people—included in the Monroe Doctrine and the Philippine Islands commitment, include the greatest potential market in the world.
6. We should establish a single unified command over the entire Pacific operation.
7. We should place equal emphasis on the war against Japan and the war against Germany.

The confidential report including findings and recommendations is now being prepared for the Senate Military Affairs Committee and it is hoped that Senator Lodge and I can furnish the Committee with complete supporting data and information at the earliest possible time. It is hoped earnestly that the critics will withhold at least some of their harsh criticism until the Committee can have an opportunity to make full report and then we have the right to ask that our contribution to the country in this tragic war be judged on its merits.

There have been efforts by unfriendly people and by a section of the press to smear the members of the inspection party and to ridicule the reports and information which they obtained. Ridicule is the lowest form of criticism and the Committee asks and believes that it is entitled to the patient judgment and understanding of the patriotic people of the Americas.

This trip was neither a junket nor a pleasure-seeking mission. There were many times when a forced landing of our plane in the desert or on the sea or in the jungles would have meant certain death to all of us.

We are grateful to the Almighty God for the many blessings that He bestowed upon our mission. I feel that those of us who made the trip did so because of our high devotion to our public duty.

AT A U. S. AIR BASE . . . SOMEWHERE IN ENGLAND



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

Senators Mead, Lodge, Chandler, Russell and Brewster take turns viewing the results of a U. S. bombing mission over Germany through reconnaissance photographs

THE ARRIVAL IN CHINA



—International News Photo

General Chennault (left) and General Stilwell (center) were on hand to welcome the five Senators when their plane arrived in China after a tour of the European and Middle Eastern theaters of war

Senator Lodge:

As the Senate knows, I was one of the group of Senators who made a tour of the American war theaters. I shall first sketch the route which was followed, and then present various phases of the war situation. Because of considerations of military security, nine-tenths of the lessons which I learned cannot be discussed in public. I shall gladly talk these matters over with Senators individually, or with the Senate as a whole in executive session, if that should be desired.

I should like to be very careful to state at the outset that a rapid trip around the world does not make a man an expert. I do not pretend to speak as an authority. Luckily for me, I was a working newspaperman for many years, which has given me some training in asking questions, and my military service has given me a wide personal, first-name acquaintance with members of the Army. Being a member of the Senate, of course I had access to all the higher military leaders; and being a civilian and a public servant, I had access to the enlisted personnel on a more intimate and franker footing than an officer would usually have. I speak to the Senate today, therefore, as a reporter.

Upon my appointment as a member of the Senate group, I decided to address myself primarily to the following matters:

First. The welfare of the troops, involving not only their food, clothing, equipment, medical care, and dependency allotments, but also the leadership which they were receiving, and, if possible, the fighting qualities which they displayed in combat and the obstacles which they had to overcome.

Second. The broad strategic problems in the various theaters, as they affect the conduct of the war and particularly as they point the way toward the problems which will face us after the war.

Third. Wherever time permitted, to look into the work of our civilian agencies abroad. I should say that this latter phase was especially and thoroughly studied by the Senator from New York (Mr. Mead) and the Senator from Maine (Mr. Brewster), who are members of the Truman Committee, and I believe they have a report in preparation which will be of the most intense interest and value to the Senate.

It became evident to me that knowledge can be obtained from talking with the men on the spot which cannot be obtained anywhere else. That is because they are imbued with the problems of the areas in which they are serving to a degree which does not exist even here in the capital. Those men are making life-and-death decisions, and consequently the area in which they live and the significance of it to them is something very real. I should say, of course, that no thorough survey was possible in the time available; and, of course, much of the time was consumed in transit. But I hope that one good result which may flow from this tour will be the many leads and suggestions which became apparent, and which might well be followed up by committees of the Senate.

In many places I made what is known as a "spot" check regarding the food, post-exchange and recreation facilities of the soldiers. I shall not burden the Senate with such details, important as they are to the individual

concerned, but I have put this specific information at the disposal of the War Department, and I am advised that it will receive prompt attention.

All of us made visits to hospitals wherever it was possible to do so. In the course of the trip, almost 2,000 soldiers, I think from every State in the Union, requested me, as they did other Senators, to write to their families and tell them that they were well.

Now for the route itself.

Importance of Northern Route

We left Washington on July 25, and went to the United Kingdom via the northern route. While military secrecy prevents me from giving the names of any of the places, I feel that the importance of this north country should be emphasized. It is, for example, possible for relatively small planes to cross the ocean by going from Maine to Newfoundland to Labrador to the west coast of Greenland, then to the east coast of Greenland, to Iceland and to Scotland. The limiting factor is the weather, which is bad in the winter. This route is, of course, most advantageous to those who want to cross oceans, and disadvantageous to those who want to prevent such crossings.

Newfoundland is an area of especial significance to the North American continent. When we left there our pilot said, "We have enough gas to get either to Prestwick in Northern Scotland or to Marrakech in Northern Morocco." That is approximately correct. They are the same distance.

The Mercator projection of the world, which most of us learned in school, is very misleading as to the position of Newfoundland. Broadly speaking, Newfoundland and Bermuda in the Atlantic are comparable to Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands in the Pacific. Bermuda, like the Hawaiian Islands, is closer to the American continent than to any other.

The serious obstacle to flying in this northern country is the fog. Since the destroyer deal was made whereby we acquired a 99-year lease on the naval base of Argentia, fields have been discovered which are free from fog. American dollars have built huge runways in some of these places. It is absolutely indispensable that we have rights of access to those fields after the war.

The Eighth Air Force

The feature of the stay in the British Isles was the time spent with the fighting men of the Eighth Air Force and the courteous reception accorded us by British officials, for which I desire at this point to express my appreciation. It was a matter of real satisfaction to see the splendid way in which Lieut. Gen. Jacob L. Devers was solving his many problems. He is a man of great energy and determination.

The Eighth Air Force can make the proud statement that never since it began operations has an American plane returned before completing its mission because of any action by the enemy. I wish I could convey something of the atmosphere in which they live. Some of it can be indicated by the notices which are posted in a

routine manner on the walls of their buildings. One of these notices reads, "Remember, when you bail out, don't give out information."

Due to the generous consideration of the other members of the group, it was my privilege to represent them in Sicily, where fighting was in progress on the north coastal road in the vicinity of Cape Orlando. The American Seventh Army, under the gallant leadership of Lieut. Gen. George S. Patton and under the high direction of General Eisenhower, is a most formidable ground striking force. The gains of territory which this army made and the rapidity of their advance, which culminated in their entrance into Messina, constitute a brilliant page in our history.

I flew to Palermo in a B-25 and went forward to the vicinity of Cape Orlando along the northern road by automobile. This road is like a shelf cut out of the steep side of mountains with frequent bridges traversing dried-up river beds. All bridges had been blown and the stream beds had been heavily mined. It is at all times in view of the sea, and the country was so rough that it was impossible to travel off the road with any type of vehicle.

General Patton did not use any frontal attacks because of the tremendous losses which this tactic entails. Instead, he maintained a constant succession of flank attacks. If he wanted to go around the left flank, he used boats. He made three flank attacks from the sea. If he wanted to go around the right flank, he used mules, which he found in Sicily and on which he mounted American saddles which he had brought with him in November. The German troops were fighting hard, but General Patton never gave them a chance to rest or reorganize and these constant flank attacks proved to be deadly. It was a typical American way of fighting.

The operation was conducted on a large scale and with a momentum and drive which continued to the knockout. General Patton's naval and air support were effective and complete and in every way co-operative.

Senators will also be interested in the fact that the ground in Sicily was most highly organized. There were mine fields on the beaches, barbed-wire entanglements at all the approaches, and a railroad running around the perimeter of the island, equipped with railroad artillery which could be brought to bear quickly at any point. There were pill-boxes of ferro-concrete construction, with walls and roofs one and a half feet thick, which dominated the defiles and principal crossings in the roads.

It may have taken at least two years to build those works, and I do not know how much money was expended in their construction. A determined enemy could have made a prolonged resistance. Yet none of these fortifications were used, except in the German-held northeastern corner of the island.

Our Landing in Sicily

The explanation of this apparent paradox lies partly in the fact that the Italian troops did not have their heart in the struggle. It is also due to the pace, mass and momentum of our landing. Due to our excellent amphibious equipment, it was possible to unload steamers at sea and carry the loads directly up to road junctions 8 or 10 miles inland. The steamships were loaded in Africa with 2½-ton trucks. When the ships got off the

shore, these amphibious 2½-ton trucks, pictures of which Senators have undoubtedly seen, came alongside. A whole net full of material would be lowered down into the amphibious truck. The truck would go inland 8 or 10 miles, and there the unloading would begin. The movement from ship to shore approximated a movement from one ground point to another. No time was taken to stop and organize. Our boys plunged right in.

It was my privilege to be with one of our infantry companies early one morning in a small Sicilian village. The death and destruction which were everywhere close at hand are hard to describe. These men had been days and nights without adequate food or sleep. All of the smells and dirt which set ground fighting apart from air and sea fighting and the most gruesome sights of war were surrounding them. They were dead tired, but there was a grimness and determination about these boys which I cannot forget. One regiment marched 60 miles with full pack in 48 hours. Perhaps that will give some picture of the fortitude and determination of those boys.

The medical service even at these extreme forward points was excellent. Young doctors were at hand to administer opiates to our wounded and 10,000 casualties were evacuated to Africa by air, being ministered to on the way by our gallant flying nurses.

In North Africa, I had the pleasure of a visit with Lieut. Gen. Carl Spaatz, a sincere and effective leader. I also heard fine reports on the services rendered by Col. Elliot Roosevelt.

Another place of especial interest is Basrah, at the head of the Persian Gulf, where our soldiers are overcoming unbelievable obstacles in moving equipment up into Russia. There was a temperature of 162 degrees in the sun on the day we landed, and of about 115 degrees in the shade. Living conditions are among the worst I have ever seen. Yet the morale of the troops was high and the work was going forward at a tremendous rate under the able leadership of Maj. Gen. Donald H. Connolly and his staff, who are typical of the high quality of performance which we have come to expect from our Army engineers.

The Indian War Theater

From Basrah we flew to Karachi in Northwestern India, which is a big port for the unloading of American supplies for the China-Burma-India theater which is commanded so faithfully by General Stilwell. Even at that distance there were air-raid shelters and a system for protection against bombing. This was due to the possibility, which at one time had seemed imminent, that the Germans would thrust through Persia and subject Western India to bombardment. Karachi may, therefore, be called the easternmost limit of the German threat. Somewhere in India one passes into the area threatened by the Japanese.

From Karachi, we proceeded to Northeastern India at the foot of the southern end of the Himalaya mountain range. Some day the full story will be written of the many deeds of heroism which have been performed in making the flight over this route, which is now the only method of transportation into China. Every drop of gasoline, every bomb, everything which our fighters use, has to be flown up over the hump, as it is called, 20,000

feet into the air, requiring the use of oxygen in order that the men in the planes may breathe.

In Southwestern China is located the headquarters of Maj. Gen. Claire Chennault, a great flying leader with an uncanny ability to read the Japanese mind. He is one of those unusual men who at one and the same time is creative and brilliant, yet thorough and sound. The story of what he has accomplished with very limited means will also be told after the war, and should inspire every American who reads about it.

I shall not forget a visit to our most advanced airfield in China and the high spirit and energetic performance of our boys who were way out on the end of a limb, it might be said, if ever anyone was in such a position.

From China, we went to Southern India, passing through the famine-stricken area of Calcutta, which is, indeed, a city of abject misery. The human suffering in that city is undoubtedly on a par, if indeed it is not greater than, the sufferings of war. Famine, cholera and death are omnipresent.

From Southern India, we made the jump to Australia, 3,200 miles in length, which was an adventure for us, but a tremendous achievement for our crew. I wish to pay my tribute to them. The crew consisted of Maj. Henry Myers, the captain, a wise, resourceful leader; his capable copilot, Lieut. Elmer Smith; the phenomenally accurate navigator, Capt. T. J. Boselli; the radio operator, Sergt. Charles Horton, and the engineer, Sergt. Frederick Winslow. They measured up to the highest standards of the military profession. I also extend my appreciation to Brig. Gen. George Schulgen and to Brig. Gen. Frederick Rankin, a fine doctor and a delightful traveling companion. My thanks also go to Capt. Stephen Leo, who had charge of the arrangements when the party was on the ground.

I ask Senators to reflect for a moment on the implications of such a flight which was made so easily and so smoothly. Certainly, if it is so simple to make such flights in the year 1943, it should be easier to fly even greater distances in the near future. The situation has implications for the future security of our country which no responsible American can ignore.

Fighting in South Pacific

Another memorable episode was the visit to Gen. Douglas MacArthur's headquarters, whence I was later privileged to visit some of the forward airfields which are being constructed so effectively by the Army engineers under incredibly difficult conditions.

Allow me to describe the way in which warfare of this character is frequently conducted. When an American plane, usually of the type being used by the Allies, attempts to land in regions of this character, and contains small parties of engineers and infantry, it tries to pick out a place which is naturally flat. The men try to pick out a place where the grass is fairly dry. It grows 10 feet high in this part of the country, and it is necessary to burn it or mow it before they land. They then come in and land in this unimproved place.

The engineers get out of the plane, and the infantry deploy in the event there should be any Japanese lurking around. The engineers, with the small tools which they have brought along, carry on the important grading operations and get the rocks and other obstructions out of



—U. S. Army Air Force Photo

Senator Lodge and Admiral Halsey at a Pacific command post

the way. Another plane comes in and brings a section of a bulldozer. Another plane comes in and brings other sections until the bulldozer is complete and ready for operation. Before long, the crew is at work and the bombing area is advanced that much farther. In a short time another fighter strip would be in operation against the enemy under the dynamic leadership of Lieut. Gen. George Kenney.

Perhaps the most telling statement that can be made about General MacArthur's theater is that, although he was given the mission of holding Japan, he has actually cut off and pushed back the spreading tentacles of Japanese imperialism. This is an indication of what can be expected when the main effort swings to the Pacific. I might give a curbstone opinion and say that I think that effort is going to increase greatly very soon.

Another inspiring leader of men, with a strong fighting heart, is Admiral William H. Halsey. Like General Patton, he goes to the most forward areas where the enemy positions can be seen with the naked eye. He is utterly indifferent to personal danger. He thinks nothing of racing through a narrow channel in a PT boat between two islands strongly held by the Japanese. He enabled me to get a view of warfare in the Solomon Islands which was entirely beyond anything I had imagined. The dangers and difficulties confronting our boys in those remote islands must be seen in order to be appreciated. Looking at the islands from a plane or from a boat, one is struck by their beauty and their rich green vegetation rising from white coral reefs, set in a clear and brilliantly colored sea.

Some of the islands are fairly flat and some are of volcanic origin. A purple haze rises over them, and in the white coral reefs are lagoons here and there in which the water is as clear as crystal. But when you go ashore and try to walk through that jungle, you encounter not only physical problems but psychological dangers which only a strong effort of will can overcome. To fight on the ground in those islands is like trying to fight in a dark room.

Thick foliage is always pressing in on you. No one knows where or when the blow is going to fall. There the soldier has not the comfort he usually likes of knowing where his support on the right is and where his support on the left is. You can see nothing, and the chance of getting lost is very great. It takes a brave man to fight in such a country, and the foot soldiers who do it are entitled to the same praise which we properly accord to the boys in the ships and the planes and in the tanks, whose exploits are perhaps better known.

The Construction Battalions

The problems of supply in that endless chain of islands are difficult in the extreme. Incessant flights by enemy bombers every night make consecutive sleep impossible. On one island the men of one of the Navy construction battalions were working 14 to 16 hours a day, clearing the jungle, building an airfield and constructing all the utilities that must go into an air base, but they could never get more than three hours' sleep a night. I hope everyone appreciates the fine work done by these construction battalions, who are volunteers, recruited from the skilled trades of the United States, including carpenters, plumbers, electricians, road builders and steam-shovel operators. They have established a record of which American labor and the whole American people must be forever proud.

I do not know why their work has not been made better known. I saw one flying field, 6,000 feet long, 200 feet wide, with a surface as smooth and hard as a billiard table, which had been completed in 10 days. It was comparable to the finest landing strips at the National Airport, although it was built in a jungle, a coconut forest, where the trees had to be pulled up, and on coral rocks which frequently are so hard that it is necessary to use a drill. The boys told me that it had actually taken nine days, but on the ninth day an enemy plane came over and prevented finishing it on that day, and so the official count is 10 days to prepare and place in operation an airfield such as that.

It was also my privilege to go to sea on one of our PT boats. These boys live a dangerous life, operating at high speed at night in a sea full of reefs. Their self-assurance and competence make one proud.

Our fliers are doing sensational things. At 3:30 on the morning of my departure from the Solomons, I witnessed one of the most spectacular sights of my life. A Japanese bomber was caught in the beams of five searchlights. He was at 20,000 feet, but stood out clearly against the vast inky blackness of the sky. An American P-38 went after him, firing 20-mm. tracer ammunition, which made a red chain of fire, which struck the Japanese and set his left engine on fire.

The American made another pass. This time a huge sheet of flame came from the enemy plane. He remained airborne for 30 seconds and then started to fall. As he went down, the American fired another round of bullets into him, and he crashed to the ground. I learned later this was the third Japanese bomber that particular American boy had shot down during the night. That is the kind of boys we have out there.

I do not want to paint too discouraging a picture of the fighting in this theater. It creates a false impression. I believe, to talk about island-to-island fighting. It is

more accurate to think of the war in this area as one which progresses from weak point to weak point, by-passing and containing the areas of enemy strength. Certainly the spirit of our men and the results achieved so far with comparatively slender resources give ground for tremendous optimism, and for the belief that with increased resources it will be possible to make this by-passing operation on a larger scale and still more effective.

It is also reassuring to observe that our men are well satisfied with the weapons they have received, that the food on the whole is as adequate as the tactical situation permits, and that the higher commanders function effectively. So far as food is concerned, of course there are always exceptions, and I have told the War Department about the exceptions, but I think that the food, on the whole, is good.

I heard especially enthusiastic comments about the planes and the ordnance with which they were furnished. It is noteworthy that the light tank was employed very effectively on New Georgia, and, of course, our medium tank was used by the Second Armored Division when it went from North Africa to the coast of Sicily and then to Palermo, and made an end run, so to speak, around the Germans in those areas.

Allied Oil Resources

So much for the chronological account of my trip. I would now like to mention a number of separate items which came to my attention and which are sufficiently important to justify careful investigation and study by the Congress. This information came to me from American sources which I believe to be reliable. It was obviously impossible to make a detailed survey of any one of these topics. They do, however, provide leads for further study.

First. The question of oil. It is a matter of common knowledge that we are exhausting our own domestic resources and that all of our people, particularly those on the Eastern Seaboard, are experiencing a shortage of petroleum. Yet the information was repeatedly conveyed to me that the United States, with less than 25 per cent of the oil resources of the world, was furnishing over 60 per cent of the oil being used to fight this war.

But in Algeria and Morocco, for instance, there is no system of rationing comparable to ours. There are many cases of civilians in these two areas who have more gasoline than civilians in our Eastern States. All the gasoline is American. I was advised that in the city of Algiers, for instance, civilian vehicles consumed 42,000 barrels a month. Surely the war has progressed far enough to justify our treating these civilians like civilians in other Allied countries.

It is also noteworthy that at Abadan, at the north end of the Persian Gulf, is a vast refinery which produces 100-octane gasoline. Yet, I was told, and we were all told, this vast enterprise is only working at 60 per cent of capacity. The layman finds it hard to understand why Western Australia should not be supplied from this point instead of depending upon the distant and unfortunately dwindling oil resources of California.

Second. Wherever the opportunity presented itself, I inquired into the overseas operations of the Office of War Information. I may say that the Senator from New York

(Mr. Mead) and the Senator from Maine (Mr. Brewster) have devoted even more time to it than have I, and will make a contribution more complete than mine. I mention it only because I think Senators will recall that last June I took the position that we should not reduce the amount of appropriations for the overseas operations of OWI. I did so on the ground that psychological warfare is an essential weapon of modern war.

Frankly, I now wonder whether I was right. The overseas operations of OWI can be divided into two categories. The first is psychological warfare against the enemy, which is carried on in close conjunction with Army and Navy Intelligence. I understand that this is being well done and should continue unchanged. The second category consists of propaganda in friendly foreign countries. To my mind, this is a very dubious undertaking, which was certainly never contemplated by Congress and for which no clear-cut executive policy exists. I found the men administering this activity to be sincere and honest administrators. But they were necessarily confused.

In India, for example, propaganda is made available to the press in order to tell the people of India what the average American is like. That is the purpose of our propaganda. The people of India, of course, are interested in what the American thinks about India. How this type of propaganda contributes to the war effort is somewhat a mystery.

In Australia, mimeographed material is sent to editors to be used as background. Senators who have been working members of the press appreciate the limitless capacity of the editorial wastebasket for matter of this kind. I was told that in New Caledonia the OWI distributes match boxes with the "Four Freedoms" printed on them but without any mention of the United States. These few instances speak for themselves. I also ask Senators to reflect on the reaction in these countries when the war comes to an end and these activities suddenly stop.

On the whole, the personnel of our civilian agencies seemed to me to be of a high caliber and there was a harmony and teamwork among them which might well be emulated in Washington. I believe that more information would be useful on the Middle East supply center, which operates in Cairo and allocates materials as well as export and import licenses for American supplies in that area. It is a joint American-British enterprise and its structure should be better understood at home than it is now.

Allied Military Government

Third. I was able to see the AMGOT in operation in Palermo. Lieut. Col. Charles Poletti is coping energetically with the many acute problems. I have here a specimen of the money put out by the AMGOT. This particular bill is for 500 lira and is supposed to be the equivalent of five American dollars. On its face it carries the words "500 lira," but contains no promise of any kind. On its reverse are the "Four Freedoms," printed in English, although this money circulates among Italians. What the face of this bill promises, I do not know. I hope the reverse will not be construed as a promise which the already overburdened American people are neither rich enough or numerous enough to keep.

On so rapid a trip, dependable information about foreign opinion is best secured by talking to Americans who have lived in the country a long time. Conversations with these persons lead me to believe that there is very little fear abroad that the United States will not discharge its international obligations or take advantage of its international opportunities.

Insofar as foreign opinion about the United States is concerned, there seem to be two impressions. One is an expectation of gifts and favors from the United States which are far beyond our capacity to confer. The other is a fear, which I think is unreasonable, of the expansion of our foreign trade and of our world-wide aviation.

Again, I was impressed with the dangers of overstatement and of making promises which are impossible of fulfillment. I submit once again that a clear, frank statement of national aims, based on national interest and guided by justice, would accomplish more good for the world and would cause less hatred and disillusionment later on.

News on the War

This brings me to my fourth point. There is much real dissatisfaction among our men abroad with what they conceive to be the censorship and propaganda policy of the Government. What appears to them to be unwillingness to put out information which is not favorable and laudatory is completely out of tune with the realistic attitude which our young men have toward this war. When they come out of a situation in which they have been pushed around a bit, it can be imagined how they feel when they get the reports which make no mention of the possibility of their being normal human beings.

Comments which I heard range all the way from criticism of the cigarette advertisements which always portray field soldiers as clean-shaven and neatly pressed, to disagreement with the practice of portraying all our allies as being perfect. Our boys know that we are not perfect; that no one is perfect and that our allies are not perfect either. The good co-operation achieved between the Allies to date can only be evaluated at its true worth if it is realized that there are frequent, and natural, differences of opinion.

The dangerous results of sugary and overdrawn propaganda should be apparent to us all. Look back for a moment over some of the hallucinations which have been widespread. Do you remember the generally accepted statement that the French Army was unbeatable? Do you remember the belief that the Russians would collapse in six weeks? Do you remember the statements that the Japanese Navy was made of cardboard? We must not perpetrate any more of these false notions. We invite ultimate cynicism, disillusionment, and even hatred of our allies if we do so.

I have seen small signs of this already. Many of our young men, for example, come to China imbued with the idea that China is a great modern democracy with millions of men fighting with their backs to the wall. Upon arrival, they find this is not the case. With the impetuosity of youth, they thereupon go to the other extreme.

They overlook the industry, good-humor, and democratic attitude of the individual Chinese once they have discovered that the Central Government is not like ours.



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

Senator Lodge gets a firsthand report from American fighting men in the Southwest Pacific

They overlook the fact that, due to the Chinese Army, 15 Japanese divisions are in China, in spite of the fact that the Chinese Army, to put it mildly, is not comparable to ours. They overlook the advantage to America in having a strong China. It would be better for China and for us if a true picture were given to the American people.

When Oliver Cromwell had his portrait painted, he said to the artist, "Paint me as I am, the wart and all." The truth about China is in many ways inspiring, and China as she now stands is a real military asset to the United States. Her achievements can be more accurately measured if her difficulties are more clearly realized. It is written that "the truth is mighty and shall prevail." It will prevail in this case. I do not want to see a wave of cynicism and disillusionment following in its train.

Co-operation of Services

Fifth. The question of a postwar military policy will some day be before the Senate and I thought it of great interest to see the lessons which were being learned in the white heat of actual combat experience. The fact which is most striking is the close integration of forces in land, sea and air. None can exist without the other. At General MacArthur's headquarters, land, sea and air are separate entities under general headquarters. In Admiral Halsey's theater, Army, Navy and Marine officers are so intermingled that it is difficult to know to what service a man belongs. One outfit in this theater is commanded by a major general of the Army, with a captain in the Navy as chief of staff and a Marine Corps colonel as operations officer. All three, it should be noted, are fliers.

Senior officers of both the Army and the Navy are deeply impressed with the need for unity of the services when our new military policy is framed. There is a surprising amount of sentiment among these older men for a single Department of War, with autonomous land, sea

and air services, co-ordinated at the top by a joint staff, with each branch free to pursue its own personnel and materiel policies. There is a strong feeling that it would be unwise to build up a large Reserve Corps in our Air Forces because of the necessity of having such a large number of men between the ages of 18 and 25 in this particular arm. It is thought that a college-training program which keeps a man in the Air Forces until the age of 25 would assure us a steady supply of youthful fliers. There is also much talk about having the same commissioned officers' insignia for all men who fight for the United States.

Sixth. Perhaps one of the most striking physical phenomena to a modern world traveler are the huge airfields which have been constructed with American money and American labor, at the farthest corners of the earth. Most of these have not been constructed in territory belonging to the United States, and military secrecy forbids my stating just where they are. Estimates of the amounts expended on these airfields run as high as \$500,000,000. So far as I could learn, we have no postwar rights of access to any of them. We do not seek dominance; we abhor imperialistic domination over native people; all we want is an even break.

But in the islands of the Pacific and in other places there are many points which are essential to the military security of our country in this new air age. As we conquer the island possessions of Japan there will be more. We want no dominance over other peoples or races. The places I have in mind can be secured for us without violation of this principle, because they are all so sparsely populated.

I should not say can be secured for us. We will secure them in this war, because that is an American theater. American blood has been shed to get these places. American boys are buried there now. Some of these places must remain in American hands. I devoutly hope for effective international co-operation to keep the peace. I shall do everything I can to that end. We cannot, however, assume that this relieves us of the responsibility of maintaining an adequate, a model and a forward-looking military establishment.

Seventh. The question of international communications is of the first importance. There are large areas of the world where our British allies have complete control of the cable system. I do not know how many of our higher commanders overseas spoke to me on the need for parity in this matter and suggested that it seems like a fitting subject for reverse Lend-Lease. I talked with high British officials about it, and was pleased to find that they thought it was definitely a subject for negotiation.

Use of Russian Bases

Eighth. I now come to a topic of great delicacy but of such importance to the American people that, having seen some of the sad sights I have seen, I feel I must mention it. I refer to the questions raised by Russia's relation with Japan. Certainly, all of us who have admired the courage of the Russian people in fighting a dangerous enemy to the death can understand her unwillingness to open a war on other fronts.

Certainly, no one is more deeply interested than the parents of our American boys in the success of Russian arms over Germany. But it is also true that the whole

character of the Pacific war would change if the United States had access to the Pacific coastal area of Russia. For reasons of security, I shall not say how many American lives would be spared if we receive this aid. I can say that it is a major factor in the whole Pacific picture. It is one of the biggest military facts staring us in the face.

Ninth. Wherever we went we found a demand for a definite policy of relieving men overseas after they have served a certain length of time. In some of our smaller islands and in certain Air Force units, such a policy exists already. There is no doubt that, after a man spends a certain amount of time in an overseas theater, his efficiency decreases. Shipping problems and the danger of submarine attack have made it impracticable to send men home. I hope that as the situation improves a dependable policy for the relief of troops overseas can be worked out.

Before I close I wish to pay my tribute to the Senator from Georgia (Mr. Russell), the chairman of our group. He was always considerate and courteous, made a most intelligent contribution to our work, and on many occasions represented the Senate with dignity and force. The Senator from New York (Mr. Mead) worked indefatigably in the performance of his labors for the Truman Committee, and was serene, fair and genial under all circumstances.

My colleague of the Military Affairs Committee, the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Chandler), with his interest in military matters, brought his cheer and personality to American boys in camps and hospitals and made many friends wherever he went. The Senator from Maine (Mr. Brewster) expended his apparently inexhaustible energy and used his quick, discerning mind to gather information which will be of great value to the Senate. They were all delightful traveling companions and I look back on my fellowship with them with lasting satisfaction.

Mr. President, it is a matter of interest to the Senate, I think, to be told that one of our former members, Senator Gibson, of Vermont, is a lieutenant colonel in the Army. I saw him in New Georgia. He had been struck in the head by a shell fragment, and if it had gone a little bit farther he would have been killed. As it was, he escaped with a scar.

I saw the brother of our friend, the senior Senator from South Dakota (Mr. Gurney), who is in the Army.

I also saw the brother of the senior Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. La Follette).

Women in War Theaters

One word with respect to the work which women have done in the war theater. It has a priceless value. The Red Cross workers have done more for the happiness and good spirits of our soldiers than I can describe. They endure the heat and dust of Africa and the cold of Iceland. They work long hours and are always cheerful. The accomplishment of our Army and Navy nurses should always be remembered. They have saved many lives and unselfishly and tirelessly perform their errands of mercy.

I also saw certain colored units which had rendered conspicuously distinguished service. I hope that some time the names of these units will be published.

In a voyage of this rapidity and magnitude, impressions are so numerous and so various that it might seem

hard to single out any one impression as the major one. My most lasting impressions were formed in the field and in the hospitals, where I saw the kind of boy America produces.

Examples of Heroism

I think of one boy in Sicily whose back was broken and who had just been placed in a plaster cast which reached up over his chin. Steel clamps were in his skull in order to exert traction on his spinal column. He was destined to lie this way for six months and then his recovery was not sure, but when I spoke to that boy he answered me with a joke. I think of another one whose face was horribly burned—there are a great many horrible burns in this gasoline war—whose eyelids had to be lifted up for him by a nurse and who only had a hole for a mouth. But out of that hole came the strong voice of courage.

I think of a Lieutenant Miller, of Alabama, who was washed up on a beach in the South Seas. He felt so weak from the explosion of the ship he had been on that he could hold nothing in his stomach, and thought he was going to die. So he took off his shoes and gave them and his equipment to brother officers, thinking that they might need them to save their own lives. He lay down on the beach. In the morning, he drank some rain water and he found he could hold it in his stomach.

He concluded he was not going to die. He stripped a Japanese corpse that was washed up on the beach and, gathering some Japanese hand grenades, made a camp for himself in some thick bushes on the island. When a Japanese party sought him out, he destroyed them with their grenades and armed himself with their pistols. After 42 days, he was found, but declined to leave the island until his captured Japanese documents, which he felt were necessary for the Naval Intelligence, as well as the weapons, had been safely removed. That is the kind of boy I think of.

I think of Lieut. Jack Kennedy, of Massachusetts, son of our former Ambassador to Great Britain, whose PT boat was cut in two by a destroyer, who drifted for 18 hours on the hull, and finally reached a small island. Every night that young man would swim out to the channel, and, supported by his life preserver, would signal with a flashlight all through the night to attract the attention of an American boat. He finally succeeded in doing so; and thus, by means of his brave conduct, the other members of his crew were rescued.

I think of a gunner in a B-24, a boy from Pennsylvania, whom I saw in Port Moresby. His whole right side was a mass of gunshot wounds. He had been wounded at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. He had lost his right eye. We know what happens to a man in civilian life who loses an eye. He is seriously weakened, if not prostrated in both mind and spirit. But when I spoke to that boy, his voice came back as strong as mine is now, and he said, "The thing that bothers me is that they probably won't let me fly any more."

I think of a boy who was a member of the crew of a plane from Iceland which came down in Greenland; and, of all the places in the world, Greenland is the most appalling one. He was the only boy in the party who did not drink salt water, and he was the only one who lived.

I think of Lionel Pelletier, of Fall River, who was a member of the crew of a seaplane which foundered. The crew escaped in a rubber boat. Of the eight members of the crew, seven died. He was found with one dead body which he had been too weak to throw overboard. Because of his self-discipline and his self-control, he survived. When I saw him at the hospital, he had complete mental and emotional self-control—an astonishing thing, considering what he had gone through.

Exploit of Bernt Balchen

I think of Bernt Balchen, a great aviator, who went up in a plane and made a search for the crew of another plane which had been forced down on the Greenland ice cap. When he finally located them, they were in a very remote spot, and it was obvious that immediate rescue was necessary if their lives were to be saved.

At that time Bernt Balchen was flying a seaplane. The only place where he could possibly land was in a slight depression in the ice cap where the ice had melted just enough to form a thin film of water. Of course, any aviator would realize that in landing in such a spot the chances were that the plane would crash and possibly the aviator would be killed and, furthermore, even if a successful landing could be made, it was obvious that there was only the slightest chance of being able to take off again from such a small area of melted ice.

Nevertheless, without hesitation, he landed his seaplane there, and kept circling it on the surface of the water so that the plane would not stick in the slush ice which lay immediately below the few inches of water. Each time he went past the group of marooned men he reached over the side of his plane and pulled in one of them. Only his extraordinary strength enabled him to perform the feat of pulling into his plane, while it was in motion, men who were so weakened that they could not help themselves. One by one, he pulled all of them into his plane, and, by the exercise of his great skill, was

able to lift the plane off the water and fly the men back to the base.

I think of a party of newspapermen whose plane crashed in Burma, leaving a number of them severely injured, and I think of the Army doctor, Colonel Flickinger, of California, who, with two Medical Corps enlisted men, took off in a plane, flew over the spot where the other plane had crashed, and parachuted down, in order to take care of the men who had been injured.

I could speak of many other instances of similar heroic conduct.

How can one explain such bravery? Those boys do not die with any slogans on their lips, the way the Japs and Nazis do. They are free men who do not need any infusion of political oratory. They fight and die so superbly for something much deeper than any catchwords. Their courage springs from individual self-respect; and it can occur only in a country where the individual is the master of his Government. It is far more powerful than any urge instilled by propaganda. A country which produces individuals of that type is indeed worthy of a mighty struggle. Today, those boys do not take America for granted. When they come home, they will have as much civic consciousness as any other group of citizens we have ever had. They will never again be apathetic about their country. War is horrible, but war also brings out heroism and bravery which are magnificent. We can see the justification of the United States in the men it sends into battle. Their conduct is a peremptory command to us to leave no stone unturned in order to be worthy of their sacrifice.

(Text of an address delivered on the floor of the Senate, Sept. 30, 1943.)

NOTE: In addition to the places visited by the entire party, Senator Lodge visited Sicily, Kweilin in China, Guadalcanal, New Georgia, Vella Lavella, Espiritu Santo, Canton, Palmyra and Honolulu.



—International News Photo

Senators Lodge, Brewster and Russell at their visit to a Chinese infantry class coached by American officers. (General Stilwell can be seen at the left beside the post.)

Senator Mead:

Since the return of our overseas committee there have been inserted in the press and otherwise brought to public notice statements that I came back an isolationist and an American Firster. I realize the meaning of the term "American Firster" applies to an isolationist group, and while I am, of course, for my country first, I am not an American Firster, in the ordinary meaning of that term, nor am I an isolationist.

I am now more convinced that it is necessary for us to participate in an international effort to preserve the peace of the world and to prevent a recurrence of the bloody and devastating catastrophe which has been forced upon us. I am stronger than ever for the leadership of the President and those who with him are directing the Nation's war effort.

In preparation for our investigations abroad, we had a series of conferences with the heads of the various departments and agencies of our Government here in Washington which have civil functions to perform in the countries we expected to visit. Wherever we visited and found representatives of the agencies in question, we conferred with them and in many instances conducted hearings and made a stenographic transcript of the evidence. This evidence was immediately transmitted to the chairman of the Truman Committee in Washington, accompanied, in some cases, by a summary of our findings, in order that the Truman Committee might immediately have the benefit of our work.

Unfortunately, our global committee did not submit a written report to the Senate on such matters in which we might find common agreement. Perhaps we failed to realize the widespread importance attached to a trip of this character, or, perchance, it was not understood that our Truman subcommittee findings would be submitted to the appropriate departments and agencies and later on would be considered by the full Committee before a final report was made to the Senate.

The make-up of our investigating Committee of five Senators was rather unusual and I believe the first of its kind ever created. On our Committee were Senators from the Appropriations Committee, the Truman Committee, the Military and the Naval committees of the United States Senate. This unique make-up of the global Committee resulted in the submission of individual or separate reports. If we were representing only the Appropriations Committee or only the Truman Committee or one of the other named committees, we could have filed the usual report submitted by any special Senate committee, and with both majority and minority views, in case a difference of opinion existed.

A restriction applied to the Truman subcommittee, which included Senator Brewster and myself, prevented us from delving into matters that were purely military and were concerned with the strategy of the war. Our activities were confined to the activities of the civilian agencies and to the production and distribution as well as to the quality and the quantity of materiel, supplies and equipment.

Under all these circumstances, it would be most difficult for our Committee of five to agree on a single report, and for that reason it was thought best that each member

submit an individual account to the Senate in executive session. This procedure would have proved satisfactory if the Senate rules were followed or if all that was praiseworthy as well as that which was critical was given to the press. Too much of that which was critical and too little of that which was commendable found its way to the public. That the recommendations concerning the Russian bases and the Pacific theater were published as recommendations upon which the entire Committee had reported was incorrect. These matters were not within the purview of the Truman Committee.

Some of the weaknesses we saw were as old as time; others were the result of war's shifting fortunes; and still others were due to our country's inexperience in foreign fields or to a failure of Congress to set forth clearly a foreign policy to guide our overseas agencies, and, finally, they resulted from a lack of understanding between members of the same team.

To detail a formula through which all of the subjected peoples of the world would eventually become free as outlined in the premises of the Atlantic Charter drawn by our President and Britain's Prime Minister, may be the best manner by which to bring the full impact of the world's military strength against the Axis. However, with the world on fire, we must of necessity tackle the emergency job first and stop the spread of Axis enslavement lest we lose the freedom we now enjoy. By resisting now through our armed forces and endeavoring later through an international medium, we can retain what we have and ultimately eliminate the iniquities and the injustices that lead to war.

The excellent progress of the war has opened up new shipping lanes and corrected or simplified some of the problems which were brought to our attention while we were holding hearings in foreign countries.

Our emergency civil agencies were necessarily hastily organized. They were employed in a new field. They were handicapped by the precedent established by the United States after the last war. But they did much good. They are improving through experience—better personnel selections taking place.

Perhaps a full and frank understanding on all matters of controversy within the United Nations' family will improve existing conditions and better prepare us all for the postwar responsibilities we are mutually to assume if we are to preserve the peace of the world.

It has been said that when the patient is on the mend, when his condition is improved, he begins to complain. Therefore, perhaps it is a healthy sign that there is candid discussion now among the United Nations. A year ago we were far too apprehensive of Axis success to consider anything except the problems then pressing upon us.

Some Impressions

This historical trip lasted sixty-five days, 178 hours of which were spent in the air, and we traveled over 40,000 miles. We visited Newfoundland, Iceland, the United Kingdom, North Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Iran, Iraq, India, China, Ceylon, Australia, and numerous islands of the Pacific, including Hawaii.

During our trip we spent 53 days on the ground. It was sufficient time to afford us an opportunity to learn something about what is happening in other parts of the world, how well the war effort is progressing, and what contributions our agencies, civil and military, are making in order that we may more successfully prosecute the war.

The most lasting impression I carry with me from the trip is the inspiring example of our American youth in every climate and under all conditions. Hitler had said that the Americans were soft and could not fight—that our boys were too accustomed to the life of ease and luxury which our improved economic standards would permit. But our brave lads have surprised and confounded Hitler. They are resourceful; they have stamina, and courage, and they are outfighting the enemy at every turn.

The men and women of our military forces serving in every component part of the Army, Navy and Marines are doing an outstanding job. I saw scenes more thrilling than any I ever hope to see on stage or screen. I saw our boys crawl down in our undersea pig boats as they left for a raiding cruise that might well keep them out to sea for six to eight weeks, and most of that time under the water.

I saw others returning from such a mission, pale from lack of sunshine as they crawled up from the conning tower to the deck, with the record of their sinkings proudly waving from the masthead. I spoke to those heroes later as they relaxed for a brief rest period in the warmth of the tropical sun of the Pacific.

I saw the infantry and the artillery with their naval components, training for the invasion of Southern Europe. I saw the jungle country with its swamp and its muck through which the Army and the Marines fought both disease and the enemy. I saw the briefing of both bomber and fighter squadrons before they took off for a flight over the Continent, calmly receiving their instructions from the commanding officer. They were brave and unafraid.

I saw our air fighters and our sea fighters in the South Pacific return from encounters with the Japs, tense and exhausted from their nerve-racking work, but ready for more. These are the impressions indelibly impressed on my mind, impressions that will remain as long as my memory lives. Hitler made a grave mistake when he underestimated the sterling qualities of the youth of America.

Military and naval commanders in every theater of the war commended our Committee for visiting their forces, adding that it was helpful to the morale of the men in the ranks to know that the representatives of their Government learned first hand of their problems and how the war was being fought. General MacArthur, for example, said that our visit was an inspiration to him and his men.

I want this remarkable trip to go down in history as one productive of helpful and beneficial results. I lived too close to the war; I saw too much of the suffering and the dying to do anything other than to add my contribution to the tremendous tasks our boys are shouldering on the battlefields of the world today. I desire to make the record clear insofar as my observations and conclusions are concerned.

Perhaps for constructive reasons, or in order to be helpful to the war effort, or perhaps to bring to the at-

tention of the agencies of the Government such matters as we did discover for improvement in their administration, we may have stressed the weaknesses we discovered. We did not intend to hurt the war effort; nor was it the intention of our Committee in any way to bring about even the slightest degree of unfriendliness between our allies and ourselves. That is my firm conviction. We must all be too busy fighting our enemies to have any time to quarrel with our friends.

Standing out among the recommendations of our Committee, according to the press, were:

- (a) The matter of Siberian bases; and
- (b) Placing the Pacific theater on the same ranking as the European theater.

There were a number of other recommendations presented by our Committee, and for the most part they concerned our civil agencies. Again, according to the press, they included:

1. The question of air bases and our postwar policy with reference to the use of those bases;
2. A more equitable distribution of the United Nations' petroleum production;
3. A study, and perhaps a revision, of our Lend-Lease policy;
4. An inquiry into the information programs of OWI (there being substantial support for the psychological warfare activities of OWI); and
5. The co-ordination in the foreign field of our several civil and economic agencies.

These recommendations appear to me to be the most important of all those attributed to our Committee.

Problem of Russian Bases

I talked with men in the military of our Government, and of other governments, with reference to the question of the Russian bases. I was told that it might be a simple problem for Russia to give us such bases, but such action would involve a declaration of war between Japan and Russia, and it would also involve the protection and defense and supply of those bases. Either the Russian Government or the American Government would have to tackle that difficult problem.

I was told, and which I fully realized, that the Soviet Army has a tremendous task on its hands, and that its heroic performance was astounding the military experts by the determination and the speed with which it was driving the invader out of Russia. For Russia to tackle another strong power at this very time, making it necessary for supplies to be transferred thousands of miles over Siberian wastes, would imperil the war in Europe, and, therefore, I was informed that Russian bases were out of the question at this time.

I was also told that if we ourselves could go right by the front door of Japan, through the Sea of Japan, and establish such bases, and supply them, we could just as easily land on the shores of China and establish a bridgehead and bases there. The fact that we have not done so indicates the difficulty of the task. Naturally, the willingness of China to give us the bases exists, but the military possibility of putting the plan into effect is indeed quite another problem.

As already pointed out, I did hear some discussion of the possibility of Russian bases, and, when the matter of supplies and the question of materiel was brought up,

there was always asked this question: "Could those bases be protected and defended and supplied?" That was the question that was never satisfactorily answered.

I believe that the strategy in the Pacific theater has been carried out correctly, and I doubt very much the wisdom of weakening the European front by diverting materiel and supplies needed to combat the armies of Hitler to other theaters right at this time. We should, of course, send all the men and materiel we can to the Pacific, and that I believe is being done now and will continue to be done in the future.

In the early days of 1942, we were worrying about the success of the three-point program which Hitler proclaimed as his victory program. That program included: (a) the U-boat campaign in the Atlantic; (b) Rommel's conquest of Africa; (c) control of the oil of the Caucasus. For a time the situation for us was most critical; for Hitler it looked promising.

However, the day of apprehension is now over. The anxieties which troubled our hearts are no longer there. The U-boat menace has been minimized. We are building more ships by far than are being sunk today. The great stand made by Montgomery at El Alamein, supported as he was by the American Army, has driven Rommel across the Mediterranean, or into the sea. Africa is now on our team. The Mediterranean is our lake. The long voyage around South Africa, requiring weeks of precious shipping time, is no longer necessary.

The French Navy, once a potential enemy, is no longer fighting us. Many of its units, and thousands of its personnel, are now on our side. The strong Italian Navy recently steamed into Allied ports to assist us, and now we have a decided advantage.

Oil was involved in his third point. Whoever had control of the oil of the Old World enjoyed a tremendous advantage; and, to bring that about, Hitler had the greatest force at his command fighting for the oil in the Caucasus. Only a short time ago there was great apprehension lest Stalingrad would fall. The Russian armies had a superhuman task to perform to stop the Nazi drive into the oil fields of the Caucasus. Of course, Allied strategy had to meet that challenge. It was a case of either stopping Hitler and destroying his three-point program for victory, or fighting the war in the Pacific alone if he should win in Europe.

The supply problem in the Pacific is simple now compared to the situation which faced us in the gloom of 1942. In Europe we are closing in upon the enemy, everywhere the initiative is in our hands, and the enemy is on the defensive and will remain there until victory comes to the United Nations.

Another item should be mentioned before leaving this subject. The small nations, which refused to be knocked out of the war and who remained in, no doubt, because the United Nations' proclamation gave them a voice in the council of the United Nations, and also because of the fighting materials which they acquired through Lend-Lease, are all helping us hasten the day of victory. They are now, as a result of the improved European situation, in a better position to utilize their merchant marine to carry our materials, men and equipment to every battlefield in the world.

I have not criticized the war effort of any one of our allies. I have both praise and admiration for the work being done by every one of the United Nations. They

have earned the lasting gratitude of our people, and all nations, great and small, deserve a place high in the councils around the peace table when the war shall be ended.

Patient China, fighting with her back to the wall, and at times with very little of the materials of war, carried the brunt of battle against Japan for years, and is today stronger and more confident than she has been at any time since the invader came to her soil. United China, supporting loyally the Generalissimo of the armies of China, merits our praise, and all the sympathy, help and co-operation we can extend.

The indomitable Russian people, that great fighting force which astounded all the military experts and which fought on a 3,000-mile front under the most adverse climatic conditions known to man, are writing a glorious chapter which will stand out in the history of this war. Russia, too, deserves our praise.

We saw the devastation of Plymouth, of London, and other fair cities in the United Kingdom. We have a high appreciation of the courage and heroism of the people of England. We know the sacrifices they have been and are making. For days we lived with them and saw those sacrifices. We know how that little island fought to keep the invader out and how they struggled to help win the Battle of the Atlantic. We remember the stubborn stand of Montgomery's Eighth Army and how he fought the strongest and most cagey opposition that Hitler could send to the North African desert. Surely, we have nothing but praise for the British war effort.

Army-Navy Best in World

With reference to our own war effort, today we have the toughest, the finest, the best-trained Army in all the world—boys who are over there in the jungles or in the desert, up in the mountains fastnesses of the Aleutians or in the foxholes of the Solomons or New Guinea, or fighting their way up through Italy. Wherever they are, on land, sea, or in the air, they are giving a magnificent account of themselves. We can be proud of the rich traditions of our Republic and the knowledge that these boys are upholding those traditions in such an exemplary manner. To my mind, it is our greatest Army. It is our best-conducted war. Those boys, by comparison, are well cared for. They have the finest medical attention. Their equipment is the most modern. Their supplies are the best.

Not only do we have an excellent Army and a fine Navy, with all the other components, but our military organization is well-officered and well-directed. We can rely with confidence upon America's military leaders.

Beyond the excellent job done in the recruitment, the supplying, the direction of our military, and the strategy under which it fights, there is another vital matter which should be given consideration. In this the biggest military task in all the history of the world—the biggest single job we have before us today—we have a harmonious and an efficient integration of our several military services which work together like clockwork; we have also the most efficient and most cohesive interallied combat force that was ever put together.

The nation which rightfully enjoys a high degree of confidence and faith in its chosen leadership is indeed a favored nation in time of war. From my observation, we

have every reason in the world to have confidence and faith in the man and in the men who lead us in this grim conflict for human decency.

Praise is due the name of Churchill, whose energy, drive and leadership brought England out of the lethargy in which it found itself, and made of it a great fighting force, serving with us in this struggle against Axis aggression.

There is abundant evidence of loyalty and confidence in the leaders of the Russian Government as exemplified by her heroic armies and also by the faith the Russian people have in the righteousness of her cause and in the leadership of the Field Marshal, Premier Stalin.

In China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is, of course, the outstanding figure. He is the symbol for which China fights. Behind him there is a united effort, difficult and beset with obstacles, but, nevertheless, China is in the fight to stay, and she deserves the continued help of the United Nations in attaining that freedom and democracy to which she is justly entitled.

I hope that what I say now will not be considered political in nature. I wish to say it, not only because I believe it, not only because I gleaned the information from people I met and talked with throughout the world, but because I am sure that the judgment of history will support every word I say.

We have in America, guiding our destinies as the President of the United States, as the Commander in Chief of our armed forces, the most popular and the most influential personality in charge of any government on earth. The oppressed peoples of every nation in the world look to the leadership of America, and believe with all the faith in their hearts and souls in the leadership of America. Divine Providence favored us when President Roosevelt became the leader of our Nation. I say that because I believe, as I have already said, that essentially necessary for success in any conflict or crisis is faith and confidence in leadership. The most important observation which I have to report is this: We have every reason on earth to have the fullest confidence and faith in the President of the United States.

I am appending hereto some comment with reference to the matters which come within the province of our subcommittee of the Truman Committee. These comments concern principally the civilian agencies with functions in foreign countries.

The Office of War Information

The Office of War Information, which was created by the President of the United States on June 13, 1942, to co-ordinate existing agencies and to forge a weapon of war which would serve as an adjunct to the armed forces of the United States, has two divisions: (1) the Psychological Warfare Division; (2) the Informational Division.

As I have said before, it is impossible to describe the morale and courage and vigor of our fighting men. It is outstanding.

There are, sharing the dangers of war with our fighting men, a group of Americans, hidden in anonymity. They are the men of the United States Office of War Information, Overseas Branch, a small group of OWI men who are waging an effective battle on the psychological warfare front.

In all the places we visited, I found OWI men working closely under the direction of our military officers and very often in war areas, sharing at times the same dangers as those of our men in arms.

I have seen concrete evidence of how OWI has saved the lives of American and Allied soldiers. These men are revealing the hypocrisy of the Axis. They are bringing the truth home to the civilian and the military of both enemy and neutral countries.

In Turkey, for example, a little more than a year ago, less than 5 per cent of the foreign news appearing in the Turkish press was from Allied sources. Today, due to the successful work of OWI's Istanbul office, some 65 per cent comes from OWI alone. That means that more news about America is appearing in the Turkish press than ever before. And that is a real achievement when we consider the amount of money that our enemies have spent over a period of ten years to receive favorable mention within a neutral country which holds an important position in the war picture. In North Africa and in Italy the work of this agency has been praised by General Eisenhower.

In our final report to the Senate, the Truman Committee will have some comment to make on the Informational Division of OWI. The matter is right now receiving Committee consideration. This division of OWI has undergone some recent reorganization and our Committee's suggestions have been well-received.

The Foreign Economic Administration

Under the organization plan announced by Mr. Crowley for the Foreign Economic Administration, the United States for the first time has all of its foreign economic operations consolidated in a single agency. In the past, the Office of Lend-Lease Administration, the Office of Economic Warfare, the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, the Office of Foreign Economic Co-ordination and the Commodity Credit Corp. have all had jurisdiction over a part of our foreign economic operations. Under the executive orders issued on Sept. 25 and Oct. 6, 1943, and under Mr. Crowley's execution of these orders, a complete merger of our foreign economic agencies has been achieved so that a central direction can be effectively given to our economic dealings with other nations.

The organizations which have now been merged into one included in their functions control over operations relating to exports, imports and the conduct of our economic warfare. The Lend-Lease Administration performed the Lend-Lease part of the export function; the Office of Economic Warfare, the private trade part of the export function; and the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, certain of our export functions in liberated areas. On the import side, Lend-Lease had partial jurisdiction over reverse Lend-Lease imports, while the Office of Economic Warfare supervised private trade imports. The Office of Economic Warfare also handled certain economic warfare activities.

These functions naturally overlapped to some degree. While some of this overlapping and duplication was resolved by agreement between the agencies, a certain amount necessarily remained.

In the operations abroad, the doubtful areas of jurisdiction existing in Washington were sometimes intensi-

fied. It was difficult to get quick decisions on important questions because of the need for clearances among the various interested agencies in Washington before their representatives in the field could agree on a common course of action.

The new Foreign Economic Administration should eliminate confusion in all foreign economic operations and give those operations a new effectiveness. Under this, the various foreign economic organizations are completely merged.

The Foreign Economic Administration is divided into two main operating divisions:

A Bureau of Areas, composed of specialists for the different geographical areas and their staffs, and a Bureau of Supplies, composed of commodity specialists and their staffs. On any particular problem, such as the question of how many trucks should be sent to China, the appropriate area specialist is expected to consult with the appropriate commodity specialist, subject to the over-all direction of the Administrator. Formulation of broad American programs with regard to specific functions, such as import, export and economic warfare, will be the responsibility of an economic advisory and programming co-ordination staff attached to the Administrator.

In the field, the representatives of the various constituent agencies will be consolidated into a single American field mission under a single head, responsible directly to the Foreign Economic Administrator. Communications with the field men will be channeled through the appropriate area desk within the Foreign Economic Administration which will have the task of providing the foreign missions with a single set of instructions.

The men in the field will have a considerable degree of autonomy, and, because of the centralized organization in Washington, should be able to get decisions on major questions without delay.

Finally, both at home and abroad, our economic operations will be effectively tied in with the foreign policy of the United States as defined by the Secretary of State.

Lend-Lease

Lend-Lease came into being on March 11, 1941. The passage of the Lend-Lease Act resulted in all-out aid to Britain as a means of furthering our own self-defense. The Act gave the President two distinct powers.

Through the first declaration of power, the President was authorized to "sell, transfer title to, exchange, lease, lend or otherwise dispose of" defense articles and defense information to "any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States." That provision takes care of Lend-Lease aid to members of the United Nations.

The second authority conferred upon the President with wide discretion concerning the terms of repayment is as follows: "The terms and conditions upon which any such foreign government receives any aid shall be those which the President deems satisfactory, and the benefit to the United States may be payment or repayment in kind or property or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems satisfactory."

While the Act provides for "repayment in kind or property or any other direct or indirect benefit" at the discretion of the President, the Act also gives the Con-



—U. S. Army Air Force Photo

Senator Mead looking through the gunsight of a machine gun aboard one of the U. S. Flying Fortresses attached to a bombardment group somewhere in the British Isles

gress control of the purse strings. Congressional appropriations therefore determine the volume of Lend-Lease aid and the Act requires that the Lend-Lease Administration, through the President, submit quarterly reports to the Congress. These reports detail the "quantities, value, terms of disposition and destination of the articles and information so exported." These reports are received regularly by the Congress and are available to the individual members of both houses.

While there have been mistakes in the administration of Lend-Lease and while its accounting methods, especially when Lend-Lease in reverse is considered, are somewhat complicated and cumbersome, it has served a splendid purpose.

A statement attributed to our Committee explaining that Lend-Lease Administration had sent 30,000 trucks to Australia in a year, during which American civilians received only half that number, has been the subject of considerable controversy. It should be recalled that no official statement on the subject of trucks has as yet been made by the Truman overseas subcommittee.

However, some individual views were published, but they concerned the future quota of trucks, rather than those delivered in the past.

The transportation situation in Australia is most serious, both by reason of the lack of adequate overland transportation and the necessary limitation on seagoing transportation facilities. The situation, of course, stems from the military, and, therefore, our shipment of trucks to Australia is to meet a vital war need.

The attached letter, dated October 20, from the Office of Lend-Lease Administration explains the facts with reference to Lend-Lease transactions concerning trucks during the period from Oct. 1, 1942, to Sept. 30, 1943. This question is also receiving further study and will be contained in the Truman Committee's final report to the Senate.

Original from

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Taking an over-all viewpoint of Lend-Lease operations, one must realize the effect it has had upon the favorable progress of the war from the standpoint of the United Nations.

The President's genius for creative statesmanship is readily apparent in the proclamation setting forth the United Nations and in the formulation of a Lend-Lease policy, which gave to the United Nations, both large and small, the sinews by which they are able to carry the attack to the enemy.

No doubt there have been some mistakes and no doubt there is ample room for improvement. It is to that end that our Committee will continue its hearings of Lend-Lease activities.

Foreign Economic Administration
Office of Lend-Lease Administration
Washington, D. C.

October 20, 1943

Mr. R. L. Vaniman
Director
Automotive Division
War Production Board
Room 4030, Railroad Retirement Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vaniman:

The following facts are presented with respect to trucks for Australia in response to your request.

During the period from Oct. 1, 1942, to Sept. 30, 1943, 14,356 trucks were shipped under Lend-Lease to Australia. All of these trucks and all other Lend-Lease supplies are shipped only after specific approval by General MacArthur as necessary to maintain the civilian war economy of Australia. In accordance with our usual procedure, no additional trucks or other supplies will be shipped without General MacArthur's approval.

Although these units are classified as civilian trucks, that is, not included in the Army Supply Program, it should be pointed out that they are operated under rigid control by the Government and used solely in the prosecution of the war.

In the early stages of the war, the threat of invasion prompted the Australians to construct manufacturing facilities for war materiel which for strategic reasons were placed at points some distance from principal cities and ports. In addition, airdromes and other military installations were constructed at widely separated points. All of these factors demanded a modern trucking system.

The railroad facilities in Australia, complicated by the fact that they are in five different gauges, are unable to handle the increased freight necessary during the present situation. Further, coastwise shipping has been hampered by enemy action and curtailed by sinkings, and by the requisitioning of vessels by the armed forces.

Trucks in Australia are in general considerably older than those in use in the United States. Information received from there indicates, that due to the lack of spare parts for old vehicles, some 60,000 trucks over seven years of age would have to be withdrawn from service. Further, some 10,000 to 15,000 civilian trucks were commandeered by the military authorities.

I should like to emphasize again that nothing is

Lend-Lease to Australia unless General MacArthur's headquarters has agreed that it is necessary.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) (Arthur B. VanBuskirk)
Arthur B. VanBuskirk
Deputy Administrator

The rights of the United States to the use of aviation bases located outside of this country are covered by the rights acquired by American-operated, international air transport routes prior to the war and those rights covered by the destroyer-base deal in which we acquired military, air and naval rights in Newfoundland, Bermuda, Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Antigua and British Guiana. In addition, by separate agreements, we have similar rights in Greenland and in Iceland.

The Aircraft Yearbook, published by the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce, gives the figure of 50,052 as the route mileage on American-operated international air transport routes for the year 1941, exclusive of territorial mileage on flights to the Hawaiian Islands and Alaska, which are not considered international. Pan American Airways has been operating, according to its own statement, in and through 62 foreign countries and colonial possessions. That leaves the matter of the air bases that have been constructed for military purposes by the Army and Navy in foreign countries since our entry into the war open for negotiation so far as their postwar use is concerned.

Here, again, I am of the opinion that the members of the United Nations who have been working harmoniously on the same team in a military sense will be able to reach agreements for the use of these fields which will prove satisfactory to all parties at interest.

Here is an instance in which it will be necessary for the Congress to determine a policy with reference to postwar aviation which will serve as a guide for those in the executive branch of the Government whose responsibility this problem becomes.

Oil Production in the Middle East

In the Middle East there is a group of oil refineries of which most, but not all, are under British control, and in that connection I want to say that we are learning to work together in this war for military reasons, and I believe we can likewise work together in time of peace for commercial reasons.

The refineries in the Middle East are located at the following places: Abadan, in Iran; Suez, in Egypt; Bahrein Island, in Arabia; Haifa, in Palestine; Tripoli, in Syria; and Kirkuk, in Iraq. These refineries are being furnished with supplies of crude oil from proven, though largely undeveloped, reserves to the extent that steel for wells and pipe lines and other transportation are available.

The present manufacturing capacity of this group of refineries is about 8 per cent of the total refining capacity of the United States. The Middle East petroleum production has been profoundly affected by the change in the military situation which has taken place in the Mediterranean during the past few months. Heretofore, the limiting factor in the petroleum shipments from this area was the unavailability of tankers for moving products from the Persian Gulf to the consuming areas.

It was not possible until recently to serve the North African and Western European theaters of war from either

the Eastern Mediterranean or from the Persian Gulf areas. However, with the reopening of the Mediterranean, which is progressing favorably, and the easing of the tanker situation which has taken place during the past few months, it now becomes possible to draw more heavily on the Middle East for United Nations' military requirements.

Considerable progress is now being made in increasing the petroleum output of the Middle East. The larger emphasis can, therefore, be shifted from one of transportation requirements to that of the manufacturing capacity of the existing facilities and in that connection the possibilities of the expansion of existing refineries and the possibilities of constructing new refineries becomes the more important question. Certain expansion projects are now under way, and with their completion the present maximum productive capacity of 350,000 barrels per day for all the Middle East refineries will be stepped up to approximately 525,000 barrels per day.

Therefore, as a result of the changing fortunes of war and the additions and improvements to the Middle East refineries, the output from that area will be progressively increased. The construction of a modern, complete refinery in that area to meet future requirements is a question that merits consideration by those in authority at this time. In the Eastern Mediterranean area, production is now being stepped up by certain changes and improvisations in existing equipment which resulted in an increase in the crude oil intake of approximately 50 per cent.

There is a small refinery located in Egypt. Last year, this plant operated at only 85 per cent of its capacity, but this was not due to any action taken by the United Nations or by any Anglo-American corporation. This refinery is now running at full capacity, but no expansion is planned since the productive capacity of the Egyptian oil fields will not furnish any additional crude oil than that which is now being processed.

Aside from naval and military needs, the refineries in this area are called on to supply the civilian demands of those friendly and allied countries which can economically be served from them. Civilian consumption in North Africa is under military control and in a number of countries our Committee believes that rationing should be more restricted.

Persian Gulf Area

In the Persian Gulf area, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. has a refinery at Abadan, Iran, and an American corporation operates a refinery at Bahrein Island. The refinery at Abadan is served with crude oil from the Iran fields through three incoming pipe lines. During the past summer it has operated at about 75 per cent of its present refining capacity, consistent with the maximum production of aviation gasoline of military quality. Small surpluses of motor gasoline and other products in excess of British requirements are now available and arrangements for moving them are already in effect.

In connection with petroleum refining, it should be noted that, with any given installation of refining equipment operating on any particular kind of crude oil, it is not possible to vary the schedule of manufactured products at will. The characteristics of the oil and the limitations of existing equipment necessitate the simultaneous production of a complete range of products in more or less fixed proportions. Consequently, it is not possible

at any one refinery to produce the war-essential products for which offtake is readily available without also making several other products for which there may be less demand.

In the case of Abadan, it has been necessary to produce, in addition to aviation and motor gasoline and kerosene, a surplus of gas oil, Diesel oil and fuel oil for which sufficient offtake has not been available due to the lack of tankers. Under such circumstances, and in order to maintain a maximum output of the lighter oils, Abadan was forced to resort to the uneconomical practice of returning the surplus materials to the ground by a reverse movement through the pipe lines.

It is, therefore, evident that any attempt to vary the proportions in which the several petroleum products are made or to improve the quality of any petroleum products, should be accomplished by the installation of additional equipment. When this is not done, the same objective can be achieved by cutting back the crude oil runs, which means that the intake capacity of a refinery for crude oil is not a fixed quantity, but depends in large measure upon the kind of crude oil which is to be processed, the qualities of the several products which are to be made, and also the proportions in which it is desired to make them.

At any rate, it has been said that America, with 25 per cent of the oil reserves of the world, has been furnishing over 60 per cent of the United Nations' demands. If this be true, it is being corrected now by increasing the petroleum production in the Middle East area. Our Committee will continue to study this subject. Having in mind always the effective prosecution of the war and the equitable distribution of the petroleum production under the United Nations' control.

Since we returned to Washington, our Truman subcommittee, in keeping with established procedure, has had executive hearings at which we called in representatives of the State Department, Lend-Lease, Foreign Economic Administration, Office of War Information and the Petroleum Administrator for War. At these sessions, we discussed matters which came to our attention abroad. A number of important changes and reorganizations of the executive agencies have already been undertaken since our return. The Petroleum Administrator for War has increased the power and authority of the overseas representative, which change has favorably affected petroleum production in the Persian Gulf area.

While our Truman subcommittee was in North Africa, we informed the State Department of the necessity for the integration and co-ordination of our several civilian emergency agencies located in countries where American military activities were centered. The President's directive setting up the Foreign Economic Administration and the appointment of Mr. Leo Crowley as its head will greatly improve existing conditions and increase the efficiency of these operations in foreign countries.

The subcommittee of the Truman Committee, before it makes its final report to the Senate, makes its report to the full Truman Committee. After that we shall make our report to the Senate, and that will be our first official report. It will likewise be a final report. It will be a report on which we will stand and one we will defend.

NOTE: In addition to the places visited by the entire party, Senator Mead visited Palestine.

TEN CONCLUSIONS:

By the Committee of Five Senators

1. Our men in all branches of the service are satisfied with the weapons and airplanes they have received. The food on the whole is as adequate as the tactical situation permits. Medical care is excellent. The high command functions effectively. Mistakes which are probably inevitable in a war of this size and novelty are not being repeated. We are learning fast from experience.

2. A great deal more oil should be provided from the deposits of the Middle East. Existing sources of crude rubber in the Orient, now held by the United Nations, could be increased. Too much American gasoline is made available to civilians in North Africa.

3. The mission assigned to the Office of War Information of conducting propaganda activities in friendly foreign countries raises many doubts. While the personnel is sincere and capable, this whole policy should be carefully re-examined.

4. The men who are bearing the brunt of battle do not feel that the true picture of their hardships is being given to the public. They have a realistic viewpoint regarding war which they would like to have shared by our public relations officials and the public, insofar as military security permits.

5. Close integration of our land, sea and air forces has been accomplished in most theaters and works extremely well. It points the way toward a sound postwar military policy. Our military effort is well co-ordinated with that of our allies in the areas visited.

6. The United States has constructed huge airfields all over the world at tremendous cost to our people. The use of some of these fields in the future may be just as essential to our security as battleships or divisions. We have no postwar rights of access to these fields outside

the Western Hemisphere at the present time. These rights of access are also indispensable to the vitally important growth of commercial aviation.

7. The need for parity in international communications is stressed in every theater. Equality in these cable and wireless communications would seem to be a fitting subject for consideration and possible reverse Lend-Lease.

8. A policy of relieving men overseas after they have served a certain length of time would be in the interest of efficiency as well as conducive to physical and mental welfare. The Committee is aware of the shipping problems which have created this situation. It believes that the shipping situation is now improving. A definite promise to a man that after a certain length of time he will be replaced is a big morale factor.

9. The need of a clear national policy is strikingly apparent. With such a policy should go an American representation abroad in which our military, diplomatic and business personnel work as a team, with appropriate international rank. We owe this to ourselves and to the world.

10. The Committee returns inspired by the bravery of our American fighting men and impressed with the obstacles which they have overcome. They are the products of a free system of government, and their sacrifices are a justification of our democratic way of life. Their courage should inspire us to leave no stone unturned to be worthy of their sacrifice.

Richard B. Russell, chairman.
James M. Mead.
Albert B. Chandler.
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
Ralph O. Brewster.

October 8, 1943.

THE *ONLY* MAGAZINE DEVOTED
ENTIRELY TO REPORTING
SPOT ANALYZING and FORECASTING
EACH WEEK THE NEWS
OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS



NEWS OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS WILL BE THE
NEWS OF BUSINESS FOR GENERATIONS TO COME



2201 M STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—\$4 PER YEAR

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

